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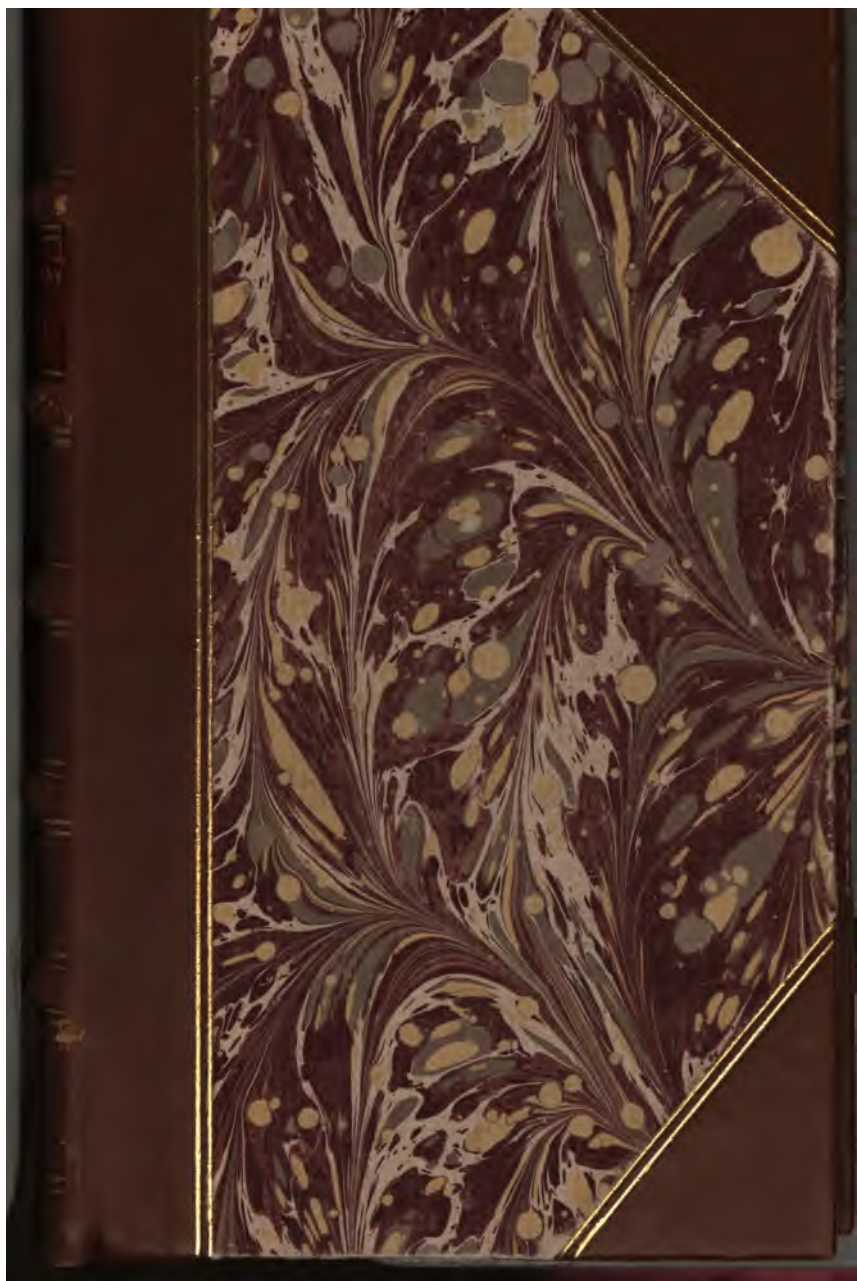
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PARLIAMENTARY

CHARACTERS.

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CHARACTERS.

CONTAINING

AN IMPARTIAL REVIEW

OF THE

Public Conduct and Abilities

OF THE MOST EMINENT

PERSONAGES

IN THE

PARLIAMENT

OF

GREAT-BRITAIN.

DUBLIN:

Printed for W. WILSON, No. 6, Dame-street;
and R. MONCRIEFFE, No. 16, Capel-street.

M. DCC. LXXVII.

Entered with the Company of Booksellers.

The following **CHARACTERS** of Statesmen, Senators, and public Speakers, being so universally approved of, since their original publication in the **GAZETTEER**, that the Author has been induced in this Edition to revise, correct, and considerably enlarge them.

1356767-190

TO HIS GRACE

C H A R L E S,

DUKE OF RICHMOND
AND LENOX, &c.

MY LORD DUKE,

TH E R E are many peculiarities
in my disposition which distinguish
me from the whole race of specu-
lative politicians, from Plato to that
profound, learned, and elaborate
political Colossus, Mr. Samuel
Johnson,

vi DEDICATION.

Johnson, some time since advanced to the worshipful dignity of Doctor of Laws—it may be presumed, *not* the laws or constitutions of England, as they lie scattered in the several codes promulgated by our Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman ancestors, but rather those invaluable treasures collected from the *golden or bloody edicts* of Imperial Rome.—But to return ; as I have addressed you in the style of a client, it is fit that your Grace should be acquainted with those leading peculiarities which mark my character.

Being most earnestly anxious to remain in the most impervious obscurity, the great leading condition of any future connexion between
your

DEDICATION. vii

your Grace and me must be a total ignorance of my name, person, &c. *till* the *event* of the present American war shall be ultimately known. —I am of *no* party, and am listed in *no* faction. Even when all personal circumstances relative to myself shall come to be revealed, I never mean to solicit the patronage or protection of any Man, either *in* or *out* of office; nor flatter him in *print*, in order the more efficaciously to make my court to him in *private*. From these rules of conduct on my part, your Grace will perceive that you stand in as peculiar a situation to your dedicatory, as he stands to your Grace and the public. Your Grace need not dread to be teased with panegyrics
on

iii DEDICATION.

on *his own* merits, or on the manifold transcendent virtues usually bestowed on patrons ; with applications for pecuniary favours ; with impertinent intrusions at your Grace's table, or into your domestic retirements ; but above all, your Grace, on the first week of your entrance into office, if that should ever happen, will not be stunned with solicitations for a fat *sinecure* office, or a round pension on the Irish establishment. — Having said so much of myself, and so little of my patron, another circumstance rather unusual ; I beg leave to point out the grand motive which induced me to recommend the following sheets to your Grace's protection : I might refer your Grace and the public to the Preface, and
to

DEDICATION. ix

to your character in the body of the work ; but as there is a species of readers who seldom look farther than the title-page and the dedication, I shall inform them in the words of a celebrated political writer, of the true grounds of the present Dedication, which are, in hopes “ that some great, brave, disinterested man may arise, and (to predict that) he will be received, followed, and almost adored, as the guardian genius of these kingdoms. *Without* a foundation of *solid virtue* and *public spirit*, the *noblest* accomplishments *lose* their importance ; with it, common sense grows *venerable*, and the *dove* triumphs over the *serpent*.

x DEDICATION.

“ If there is *one* man among us, who upon a thorough *self-examination* feels himself to be within this description, let him *stand forth*, and by a solemn, open, and explicit renunciation of all power, places, pensions, and every other species of Court merchandize, lay the *ground-work* for obtaining the *confidence* of the *people*; and, as far as honour and infamy *can bind*, give *security* for a religious observance of his engagement.

“ But if modesty should hinder, what public necessity makes a duty, let this one man endeavour to inspire a few more with the same generous sentiments, and let them divide both the service and the glory—

“ Glory,

DEDICATION. xi

“ Glory, which, however *decried*
and *discountenanced* of late, is the
only thing *worth* the ambition of
the Great, and what the people *only*
can bestow.”

I have the honour to subscribe
myself,

MY LORD,

YOUR GRACE'S

MOST OBEDIENT,

AND FAITHFUL

HUMBLE SERVANT,

LONDON,
28th Jan. 1777.

THE AUTHOR.

P R E F A C E.

THE Author of the following CHARACTERS had only one point principally in view, on the publication of the first *five* or *six*, and that was merely to establish some *criterion* of public judgment, that might enable the people to ascertain the political *value* and personal *integrity* of the several leaders and subordinate actors in both Houses of Parliament. While he sought such a criterion, in the true spirit of political inquiry, the *event* of the present unhappy war, waging in America, presented him with the means.—He clearly perceived, if *that* country should be *lost*, or *recovered*; if *this* should be *exhausted* and *prostrated* at the feet of a *foreign* enemy; should our fleets, armies, and commissioners, return in triumph, after having, by sound policy, *secured* the dependency of our Colonies; or that *conquest* should enable us to lead our rebellious subjects captive; in any of these events the *pretensions* on either hand to high

xiv P R E F A C E.

high integrity, at least to *great talents*, could no longer remain a matter of doubt, controversy, or problematical reasoning. These Sketches, if faithfully and impartially delineated, would, he foresaw, enable the public to *decide* with precision, and pronounce with authority. —Nothing more would be requisite than to examine the *index*; a careful *perusal* of *that* would lead the reader to this great Statesman, or that great Orator's *sentiments* upon the *rights* of both countries, and the *policy* or *impolicy* of the measures adopted or recommended in the course of the present dispute with our Colonies.

Should the events, which the present civil war may be productive of, cause an additional *debt* of *forty* millions, a French and Spanish *war*, public *bankruptcy*, national *despair*, and civil *commotions at home* —in the following sheets may be discovered the *authors* of our *ruin*, and of the measures which led to it, as well as those who had the *sagacity* to *foresee*, and the *honesty* to *predict* it. If, on the other hand, it should appear that America aimed at independence from the very beginning;

ginning; if it should be proved that the leaders and fomenters of the present troubles have established a thousand times a more insupportable tyranny than what they pretended they took up arms to resist; if nothing will bring the people of that country back to a proper sense of their duty, but the hand of *power* exercised in a *severe*, but *necessary* chastisement; if they have neither the loyalty or gratitude to be *good* subjects, nor the *spirit* to be formidable foes: if the nation should necessarily incur an enormous expence in asserting her rights, and a revenue commensurate to that expence should be *obtained*; if the combined force of France and Spain should *not* be able to keep pace with their unfriendly and hostile intentions; in fine, if such should be the consequences of the present measures, the Author ventures to affirm, that a perusal of the following Sketches will *enable* the impartial reader, with a mixture of *gratitude* and *admiration*, to hail by *name* the *saviours* and *deliverers* of their country!

It

It was to establish this grand *criterion*, that the Author first sat down to write. As he proceeded in the execution of his plan, he perceived there would be *something* still *wanting* to give it perspicuity; that it would be necessary to seek the *causes*, as well as to point out the effects. Taking the question as stated in the creeds of the *Court faction*, that the authority of Britain must be sacrificed to the ambition of our Colonies, should they carry their point, he wished to discover what were the *true* causes why Britain came to be reduced to *so* lamentable a situation; how it came to pass, that the *fate* of this great and powerful empire was in some measure rendered *dependent* on the *issue* of measures *originating* in *Cabinet*, or *elsewhere*, and blindly and implicitly adopted and supported in Parliament.

After some lights had been let in on his mind, which led him within view of the objects of his inquiry; after his own experience confirmed him in every material circumstance he had heard; and that

that the *uniform conduct* of parties and persons had strengthened and transmuted conjecture and surmise into demonstration, almost into proof positive, he discovered the whole to have *originated* in a *struggle* between *two factions*. He saw that both parties fought for power and dominion under *false colours*: he beheld, with grief and indignation, the successive defections, acts of apostacy, and repeated abuse of public confidence, by that description of men who should ever stand, in this country, *between the Crown and People*, as the faithful and powerful guardians of their rights, with which *their own* are so inseparably connected: he lamented a want of *union* or *common counsel* among the leaders of Opposition; a certain ferocious, haughty spirit, impatient of controul or investigation; ill-founded pretensions, jealousies, distrusts, with all the concomitants of a state of things, in which almost every individual member seemed more solicitous to promote *his own* interest, raise his consequence, or gratify his ambition on the first opportunity, than to strengthen his party; much less to advance the interests
of

of his country.—On the other hand, he imagined, he had still greater reason to lament that *unbounded influence* which the Crown possesses, and exercises by the means of its *confidential instruments*, in effecting a system of Government, by which Parliament are rendered *independent* of the People, and *dependent* on the Ministers; the Ministers are rendered cyphers, being directed by those active instruments; and the constituent, legislative, and executive powers of the state, are *virtually* made to *concenter* in *one* hand. It is true, it might furnish a subject of *curious* investigation to determine *which end* of the political chain receives the impulse; whether the *People* operate on *Parliament*, Parliament upon *Ministers*, *Ministers* upon the *King's Friends*, and the King's Friends on the *King himself*; or whether the *Patron*, standing at the *other end* of the *wire*, by contact, conveys the electric stroke to his *Instruments*, they again to the *Phantoms in Office*, who pass the luminous and *subtile* matter through more than *ten thousand* channels to the Parliament and People.

Besides.

Besides barely ascertaining the value of public men by the *events* of the present American war, the Author wishes to draw the attention of his readers, from the personal qualities of the several eminent persons whose characters he has attempted to delineate, to the *causes* which have rendered them what they are ; and to the great cause of all, the increased *influence* of the Crown, operating from a *preconcerted*, confirmed *Court system*, in a plan of favouritism ; in which, tho' the *forms* of the constitution be preserved, the First Magistrate is, in *fact*, rendered as independent of every species of constitutional controul, as the most despotic Monarch in Europe :—The nation would therefore have just cause of alarm, had not they the surest pledge of their *political salvation*, in the innumerable and exalted virtues and talents with which his Majesty is known to abound.

The Author now returns to the position he first set out with ; and which, he trusts, will throw light on the subject ; which is, that the following Sketches will
enable

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enable the Public to form a true judgment of the political value of the parties and individuals of the leading Members in both Houses of Parliament.—His second position is, that faction in the State has produced a *dangerous faction* in the Court, countenanced, aided, protected, fomented, and nourished by ——— *some*, whose duty, interest, and magistratical obligation should have *united* to *discourage* faction *any where*, or upon *any pretence*. The American war has so intimate a connexion with the views of the faction described in the second position, that the eventual success or miscarriage of it will determine the *wisdom*, and, it is to be *hoped*, the *existence* of a Court system, so incongruous in its several parts, and so directly repugnant to the *spirit* of a mixed government, in which the constitution has marked out the boundaries, and apportioned, with so much accuracy and precision, the several powers it meant to lodge in different hands.

These were the principal motives that prompted the Author to this undertaking in the beginning, and induced him to
 prosecute

prosecute it upon a larger and more comprehensive plan as he proceeded : which, joined with its first favourable reception, has encouraged him to submit the following Characters in their present collected state.—He means, in future, to pursue the same plan, as soon as a number sufficient to form another publication shall have made their appearance.

On the whole, the Author lays no claim to any merit, but that of drawing his materials from sources of *genuine* information, in the true spirit, he hopes, of *intentional* impartiality ; of forbearing to *disguise* or *palliate* the conduct of even those, whose political sentiments most intimately correspond with *his own* ; and, above all, of *disdaining* to level his shafts at a few unpopular individuals ; * because, besides the injustice and want of candour in making public charges without a *suitable* weight of proof to substantiate them, he saw it early, and now sincerely laments, that the public *attention* was injudiciously called to *improper* objects ;

* Lords Bute and Mansfield.

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objects; while *patronage*, *faction*, and a lust of *dominion*, were permitted to unite in establishing a system of administration, which nothing but the personal and *political* virtues of the Sovereign can prevent from being totally severed, and rendered, at length, independent of even the *forms* of the *constitution*.

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Keep This for, Mya soon

PARLIAMENTARY
C H A R A C T E R S.

LORD MANSFIELD.

ACCORDING to the professed plan of this Essay, I am obliged to take up this Nobleman's political and parliamentary character in the year 1766. We find him, in the spring of that year, for the first time since his taking his seat in the House of Lords, separated from Administration; and opposing the measures which were supposed to be conducted by the Marquis of Rockingham, then at the head of the Treasury. The question on which his Lordship and several others, not supposed to be inimical to the general measures of Government, differed from the King's servants, was, on the propriety of the repeal of the Stamp

B

A&c.

2 C H A R A C T E R S.

A&. We do not recollect whether he openly or violently opposed the repeal ; but he certainly voted against it. The celebrated Protest, which followed the repeal, was said to have been drawn up under his Lordship's immediate inspection, and was looked upon at the time as one of the most able performances, in that way, ever entered in the records of Parliament. His uniform and steady conduct ever since, in the *same* line, leaves no doubt but he entirely approved of all the measures which soon after followed a change of Ministry. In 1767 we find him supporting the Port duties, proposed in the other House by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. In 1770 we again find him supporting the partial repeal of those duties, and continuing the duty on tea, the immediate cause of all our present disputes. It is on this great ground of the measures relative to America, that we are enabled to decide on his Lordship's political character. His Lordship disapproved of the repeal of the Stamp Act, because he looked upon it to be a tacit relinquishing of the supreme authority of this country over America. When, therefore, Lord Rockingham and his friends went out,
and

and left the declaratory law as a *salvo* for the honour and, as *he* imagined, deserted power of Great-Britain, he united with Administration, in thinking that the act for laying on the Port duties would be the means of breathing a soul into the declaratory act, which, without it or some other species of acquiescence and active acknowledgment on the part of America, must remain lifeless, nugatory, and ineffective; and when the duties on paper, painters colours, and glass, as being commodities of native manufacture, were found to be repugnant to the interests of commerce, he approved of the repeal of those particular duties. The other parts of his political conduct, so far as the same related to measures carried on in Parliament, seem to have rather proceeded from an *uniform* support of Government, than any particular sentiments of his own, unless connected with the system pursuing or meant to be pursued towards America. Among the latter were all the bills of coercion against America, in which the Quebec Act may be well included. Those several measures he defended, as they presented themselves, so ably and particularly, nay, in some instances, so very minutely, as to enter

B 2

into

4 C H A R A C T E R S.

into the defence of the *grammatical* construction of several of the clauses; that his opponents in argument frequently charged him with being the original framer and father of them; but this we cannot by any means suppose, his Lordship having repeatedly *disclaimed* in debate the least previous knowledge of their contents, or of having attended the business of the Cabinet for a considerable time before the period here adverted to. We shall conclude the political character of this *consummate* Statesman, by observing, that he has never yet *deserted* his *principles*; and that he has built all his arguments and reasonings, and drawn all his conclusions on this single supposition, that America has, from the beginning, *aimed* at *independency*; and that the farthest people of that country will ever be prevailed upon to consent to but by force and compulsion, will be an acknowledgment of the *personal* supremacy of the *King* of Great Britain, detached in that instance from, and unconnected with, his Parliament.

His Lordship's abilities as a Parliamentary Speaker, require the hand of a master to do them

them justice. The writer, conscious of his own inability, therefore attempts only an hasty and incorrect sketch. His Lordship is certainly one of the greatest orators this country ever beheld. His powers of discrimination are equalled by none of his cotemporaries. His memory is so tenacious and *correct*, that he scarcely or ever takes notes; and when he does, he seldom has recourse to them. His references to expressions which have fallen in the course of the debate, or his quotations from books, are so *faithful*, that they may be said to be repeated *verbatim*. The purposes to which he employs these amazing talents are still more extraordinary: if it be the weak part of his opponent's argument he refers to, he is sure to expose its fallacy, weakness, or absurdity, in the most poignant satire, or hold it up in the most ridiculous point of view. If, on the contrary, it be a point on which his adversaries lay their chief stress, he states the words correctly, collects their obvious meaning, considers the force of the several arguments that have or may be raised upon them, with a precision that would induce an auditor to almost suppose he had previously considered the whole, and thrown his thoughts upon paper on the subject;

and

and that his speech was the result of this previous consideration. His judgment is no less sound upon many occasions, than his genius is extensive and penetrating : for as he pours forth at pleasure strains of the most bewitching and persuasive oratory ; so his dexterity in bringing every thing offered on the other side within a narrow compass, and either entirely defeating its intended effect, or breaking its force, is hardly credible, but by such as have heard him. On the other hand, his Lordship is often rather superficial, subtile, and persuasive, than solid, logical, and convincing. He is fond of sounds and appearances, and avails himself of his great oratoric powers, by courting the passions. No man knows better to direct his attack towards the preconceived prejudices of the majority of his auditors. He seems much more solicitous to persuade them that they are not acting wrong, than to convince them that they are acting right. His Lordship's genius seems to direct him this way ; in short, the quickness and sensibility of his eye, the animation of his countenance, the sweetness and diversity of his voice, the graces, strength, and
harmony

harmony of his elocution, all unite to render him the first orator in either House ; but — *sic transit gloria mundi*—his voice, enunciation, and spirits, to say no more, seem to be very sensibly on the decline ; the evening of his abilities, as well as of his life, begin to make their appearance at a distance, and his Lordship's most solid enjoyments will shortly be the *consciousness* of a life devoted to the *interests* of his country, and the *happiness* of human kind.

LORD CAMDEN.

THIS Nobleman was, on the change of Ministry which was formed by Lord Chatham in July 1776, and thought for some months to be under his controul and direction, appointed Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain. His Lordship, previous to his appointment, stood high in the opinion of the public, as well on account of his strong intellectual powers and professional knowledge, as his laudable and hitherto unshaken political integrity. Brought in under the auspices of his steady friend, it may be presumed their views and sentiments were the same; happy for *one* of them, we *believe*, that they had *separately* thought for themselves. An opportunity soon presented itself, which operated like the touch of Ithuriel's spear. Our new Chancellor was to be tried in the double capacity of Lawyer and Statesman. The Lord-Mayor of London, who happened to be a cornfactor, alarmed the Ministry with an account of a short crop of corn at home, a failure of the harvest all over Europe, and a rapid

rapid exportation under the corn laws. The question came to be considered in Cabinet ; a Royal Proclamation was issued, forbidding any further exportation ; and the laws, at least in this instance, were made to give way to the arbitrary mandates of the Council-table. The *Tories* instantly turned *Whigs* and *Patriots*, and arraigned the measure as both an open attack on the constitution, and a direct invasion of the laws ; they emphatically called it the *forty days tyranny*, and contended it was much more dangerous than the case of Ship Money, in the reign of Charles the First, or the dispensing power assumed by James the Second. The opening was given, the blot was hit ; the measure might be softened or palliated, but could not be defended ; yet, what was the noble Lord's conduct ? Did he confess or acknowledge, that his feelings for the sufferings of his fellow-subjects misled his understanding ; or that this love of justice, founded in governmental protection and political preservation, directed or influenced his conduct ? No, his Lordship stood on the *beaten* ground of *state necessity* ; and not only fixed the exercise of the royal prerogative in the first magistrate,

where to be sure it should always reside, but endeavoured to invest him with the *option* when, and on what occasion, with the advice of his Privy Council, that inherent prerogative is to be exercised, in direct contradiction to the known and statute law of the land, and the acknowledged principles of the constitution. Such was part of the first *three months* Chancellorship of the once celebrated Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. His Patron's infirmity of body daily encreasing; his weight in the closet daily and proportionably decreasing; the noble Duke * at the head of the Treasury soon attaching himself to another party, his Lordship at once found himself stripped of his popularity, and rendered a *cypher* in the Cabinet; and thus for three tedious years remained a silent spectator in Parliament, while the Port American duty bill; the explanation by address of the statute of Henry the Eighth, for the trial of offenders for crimes committed beyond sea; and the affair of the Middlesex election, severally received the approbation of a majority, both in Cabinet and in Parliament. His Patron †

having

• Duke of Grafton.

† Lord Chatham.

having for some time before resigned, and recovered his strength and spirits, his Lordship caught the holy flame, and once more commenced Patriot. At the opening of the session in 1770, he separated from his colleagues in office, and condemned, in the most unqualified terms, the conduct of Administration in the affair of Mr. Wilkes and the Middlesex election. In 1774, the affairs of America having become a continual subject of parliamentary discussion, his Lordship resumed his old line of politics, and has ever since uniformly continued one of the strongest advocates for the natural, chartered, and constitutional rights of America, in contradiction to the ministerial and parliamentary claims of this country.—He is, indeed, more able himself than a host of ordinary *adversaries*.

His Lordship's parliamentary abilities are unquestionable. In point of *contrast* to the last noble Lord, * he is by no means so great an orator, in the strict sense of the word; but he is infinitely his superior in depth of reasoning, in logical definition, in the philosophical

arrange-

* Lord Mansfield.

arrangement and separation of his ideas, and in his knowledge of the fundamental laws of this constitution. He never leaves those openings to his antagonists, which eternally recur in the harangues of his learned and noble brother. He seldom addresses himself merely to the passions; and if he does, he always almost addresses them through the medium of true argument and sound logic. In fact, if he was to speak in an audience, composed of men of talents and experience only, there is no man in either House would stand the least chance to contend with him for victory; but in merely driving or leading a herd, Lord Mansfield, Lord Chatham, and *even* Lord Lyttelton, are confessedly his superiors. In respect of *delineation*, Lord Camden is cool, deliberative, argumentative, and persuasive. He is fond of first principles; he argues closely, and never sets them out of his view; his volubility, choice of language, flowings of ideas and words to express them, are inexhaustible. The natural rights of the Colonists, the privileges and immunities granted by charter, and their representative rights as native subjects of the British empire, are the *substrata* on which he erects

erects all his arguments, and from whence he draws all his conclusions. His judgment is, if possible, still greater in debate, than his mere powers of oratory as a public speaker. He either takes a part early in it, decides the question, or embarrasses his adversaries; or he waits till they have spent all their force, and rests his attack on some latent or neglected point, overlooked, or little attended to in the course of the debate. In fine, as Lord Mansfield is the greatest *orator*, so we do not hesitate to pronounce Camden by much the most able *reasoner* in either House of Parliament. On the other hand, his Lordship deals too much in first principles, denied or controverted by his adversaries; and seems more eager to convince the *people* of *America*, though at three thousand miles distance, that they are *right*, than to persuade his noble auditory, that they are wrong. Many of his speeches bear an inflammatory appearance. His *silence* or *acquiescence* in the measures he *now* so loudly condemns, takes off much of that weight his arguments must be otherwise intitled to. His discourses are sometimes too fine spun and intricate, and sometimes partake of the bar subtilty, and refinement

refinement of Westminster-Hall. On the whole, he seems disposed to embarrass and embroil, even where he does not expect to succeed. This we take to be a wanton abuse of his great talents; and what, in our opinion, he ought above all things to totally avoid or studiously learn to correct.

MR. THURLOE,

ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

MR. THURLOE's political character is little known; tho' his political conduct and private and professional character is pretty notorious. On the resignation of Mr. Dunning in 1770, he succeeded that gentleman, under the patronage of the House of Bedford, as Solicitor-General; and early in the ensuing year, within the period of ten months, he succeeded Sir William De Grey, appointed Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, in the office of Attorney-General. Two circumstances attended the sudden elevation of Mr. Thurloe, very uncommon, and we believe unprecedented; which were, that he was appointed Solicitor-General from a state of some degree of professional obscurity, and before he was so much as known, or matriculated within the hollowed walls of St. Stephen; and that of course he arrived to the high post he now occupies, before he had any striking opportunity of displaying

playing his talents, in the lucrative *trade* of parliamentary warfare. Mr. Attorney's *operative* or *active* principles are, we presume, well known; so well, that ~~we~~ take the liberty to think, that there is not a man in England of any party, size of understanding, or political complexion, whose business, views, or amusements, have led him to speculations of this kind, that is not firmly persuaded, and satisfactorily informed, of the *steadiness, uniformity,* and *inflexibility* of the overruling principle which governs and directs this great officer's conduct: though earth, hell, and heaven were to club their influences, and unite in threatening him with worldly disgrace, future punishment, and eternal reprobation, they must carry their threats into actual execution, before they could intimidate him from pursuing the great *principle* of his *nature*. There is, however, something *bold, explicit, decisive,* and *open* in his public conduct, which many of his partisans, who make high pretensions to public virtue and political perfection, are total strangers to. Whether it were the shutting up the port of Boston, or blowing it up, and razing it to its lowest

lowest foundations, by a *globe of compression* ; * whether it were to establish the Turkish, the Gentoo, or the Romish religion in the province of Canada ; whether it were to bring criminals home to England to be tried for offences committed in America, or hang them by the more expeditious method of martial law, accompanied, for the sake of variety, by the *knout* or *bow-string* ; whether it were to prevent the descendants of George the Second from marrying before their *cogitative* and *generative* faculties were arrived at their full growth, or to pass an edict for their *castration* ; whether it were to new-model the charters of the East-India Company, or *annihilate* them by proclamation ; or whether to pass a law to extirpate rebellion in America, or for *extirpating* the *inhabitants*, we presume, would make very little difference with this great lawyer and statesman, provided he were fully *persuaded* that such measures would redound to the *honour* of his Royal Master, the *prosperity* of his Country, the *security* of the Constitution, and the

* See Romanzow's account of the storm of Bender by the Russians.

the *preservation* of the State. After this *open, candid, and Thurloeian* manner of delineating this gentleman's character, developing his political opinions, and tracing his motives to their true source, it will be needless to add any more, than that he promises fair to be shortly placed in a situation where he will be *entrusted* with the *use, keeping, and direction* of the *King's conscience*.

Mr. Thurloe, among so numerous a body as the House of Commons is composed of, in such an assemblage of different sentiments, principles, and interests, in such a conflict or combustion of wits, arguments, faction, and absurdity, must, for many reasons, be always considered as a first-rate speaker. Probably the public may imagine, that we have misplaced him in this noble and honourable catalogue. It may be so ; but, after the testimony of impartiality we have just given, our *judgment alone*, we presume, will remain to be impeached. Such as it is, however, we must follow it ; as it is the only guide we have hitherto permitted to lead us, or mean in future to follow : on this ground,

ground, therefore we are not ashamed to affirm, that Mr. Thurloe is by much the most useful speaker, and forcible and powerful orator on the part of Administration in the House of Commons. He combats his adversaries with almost every species of argument, from the naked, unqualified, unsupported, flat assertion, or round contradiction, down to the sarcastic joke. He is always plausible, and is the best advocate in a weak cause we ever remember to have heard. Without the graces of elocution, a chosen arrangement of words, a harmony of voice, or diversity of cadence, there is an expression of countenance denoting a conviction of truth, a manner of pressing his arguments seemingly arising from the same source, accompanied by a certain energy of expression, which, united, render him most formidable and powerful in the line of parliamentary persuasion. Were his speeches to be committed to paper, were time given to separate the *corn* from the *chaff* and *dust* which he scatters around in order to blind his auditors; were they to be naturally tried by the touchstone of truth, sought through the medium of reason and sober investigation; they would often
appear

appear in all their naked deformity ; sophistry would be too often found substituted for argument, and mere confident assertion for indisputable facts : but in the blind heat of debate, where the attack and defence is sudden and unforeseen, where majorities are to be *foothed, hurried, misled, or furnished* with plausible *apologies* for their voting against their own conviction ; where it is the business, nay employment of the advocate to conceal, exaggerate, or explain away ; where the speaker, from his particular situation, is far removed from any degree of responsibility for his assertions, opinions, or public *counsels* ; where few are capable of judging, fewer to detect, and where complete detection would be the work of as many days, as the mode of parliamentary discussion affords hours, Mr. Thurloe is not only a first-rate orator, but, to borrow an expression from himself, he is an orator of the *first impression*.

This sketch contains almost every thing necessary to the execution of our plan ; but, for uniformity sake, we will say a word or two on the other side. His voice is harsh, his manner uncouth,

uncouth, his assertions made generally without any great regard to the unities of time, place, or probability. His arguments frequently wild, defultory, and incoherent. His deductions, when closely pressed, illogical ; and his attacks on his adversaries, and their friends, coarse, vulgar, and illiberal, though generally humorous, shrewd, and *pointedly severe*.

MR. EDMUND BURKE.*

THIS gentleman's first appearance in public life was at the time of the repeal of the Stamp Act, in the spring 1766. He supported that measure with great zeal and uncommon abilities; and being a young Member, attracted the attention of the House in a very particular manner. His political situation grew from his connection with the Marquis of Rockingham, who was then First Lord of the Treasury, and ostensible Minister of the day, and to whom Mr. Burke was appointed Secretary. We cannot say but it was rather a misfortune for a man of such extensive talents to come into parliament, and public life, under the immediate *patronage*, and almost by the political creation, of a professed formed party, such as that Lord Rockingham was looked upon to be at the head of. The public has a claim to the service of such men, and it is a pity

* An elegant edition of this Gentleman's **POLITICAL TRACTS and SPEECHES** in one Vol, 8vo. has been lately published by the Printer hereof.

pity that any attachments of honour, arising from personal obligation or party engagement, should render the welfare of a man's country an object of but secondary consideration. Whether his conduct has been directed to his own personal advantage, or by motives of sound patriotism, is more than we dare attempt to decide on; but we can have no doubt that he has enlisted himself a party-man, perhaps more from *conviction* than his accidental *introduction* into public life. Be that as it may, he has acquitted himself as a most able, faithful, steady, and inflexible partizan. He has whitewashed the Whigs, and absolved them of all their political transgressions, since the accession of the House of Brunswick. He has not affirmed, in express terms, that the law for repealing the triennial Act of William the Third, and for establishing septennial parliaments, was a wise measure; or, supposing it to be proper *then*, that it should have been continued after the cause, for which it was enacted, ceased to exist; no, he tells you, in his new Whig-creed, * that *wise* and *able* men have been of opinion, the

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* Thoughts on the National Discontents.

inconveniencies arising from short parliaments would more than counterbalance the advantages; and supported it with the following cogent reason, within his own knowledge.— I have observed (says he) that the Members are always most independent in the middle of a session, the approaching election always rendering them more pliable and acquiescent to the prayers or mandates of the Minister. We shall not trace out this gentleman's principles, and defence of the Whigs, further than to observe, he has no objections to Placemen, Officers Naval and Military in the House of Commons, but he does not approve of *Pensioners*. In short, he liked the government of the Whigs very well, and Lord Rockingham's particular administration best of all. On the whole, it is sufficient to observe, that Mr. Burke is the oracle of the party he so ably defends; that he is a zealous and an able advocate for the political and commercial rights of America, a warm defender of the propriety of the repeal of the Stamp Act, and a professed opposer of every measure carried into execution respecting that country, but such as originated under the administration of his noble patron.

No

No man in this country is so well qualified, by nature and education, to be Minister of the House of Commons. Mr. Burke's powers of persuasion would on some particular occasions be irresistible, if not counteracted or resisted by the weight and solidity of the precious metals. His sources of knowledge are inexhaustible and extensive; and his materials drawn forth with great judgment. His memory is faithful, and his mind teems with the most luxuriant imagery, cloathed in the most elegant language, and apt and happy mode of expression. His details often are interesting and important, but always correct: his arguments are plausible, generally logical, replete with information, and never supported upon designed misrepresentation, or wild random assertions, to answer the temporary purposes of debate. His facts are seldom assumed, and when they are, he ingenuously founds them on certain current opinions, perhaps controverted, but known however to exist. This candour at once renders him the fairest adversary, and stamps his speeches with a certain air of credit, veracity, and authority, seldom due to any of

his contemporaries in either House of Parliament. His knowledge of parliamentary business is so vast and multifarious, that there is no subject that comes under discussion, whether politics, finances, commerce, manufactures, internal police, &c. with all their divisions and subdivisions, which he does not treat in so masterly and technical a manner, as to induce such as hear him to imagine he had dedicated a considerable portion of his life to the investigation of that particular subject. Mr. Burke is not perhaps so logical, convincing, judicious and correct, as Lord Camden; nor so persuasive, graceful, and fascinating a speaker as Lord Mansfield: but in the laboured detail of office, in connecting measures with the motives which brought them into existence, in explanatory observations, and in pursuing measures to the probable consequences arising from experience, and supported by rational deduction, he has most undoubtedly no equal. If the impracticability of the American war, the interference of foreign powers, or any other accidental circumstance, either within or without, should happen, so as to render it absolutely necessary

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to change the system which has prevailed at St. James's since the commencement of the present reign, it is very probable this gentleman might succeed to the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, and that for two reasons; because we think him the most capable man in England for the office, the present Chancellor *not* excepted; and because, unless in the single instance of America and a double Cabinet, the creed of the *modern Tories* and *modern Whigs* seem only to differ in name: nor can we discover a tittle in Mr. Burke's political opinions, his personal attachment to Lord Rockingham only excepted, which would present a single obstacle to his accepting the Chancellorship of the Exchequer under any Minister, who would consent to transfer the power of the Junto to the responsible Cabinet.

This sketch we present to our readers, as a very imperfect attempt to delineate the uncommon parliamentary abilities of this great political genius.—We cannot, however, dismiss this side of the picture, without observing, that his abilities are accompanied with

a very extraordinary instance of an union of talents, scarcely compatible ; for it is difficult to decide whether he speaks or writes better, or whether he deliberates with greater judgment, or plans or directs with greater aptitude, sagacity, and foresight.

On the other hand, Mr. Burke is excursive, injudicious, and pedantic. His wit sometimes degenerates into buffoonery and ill-nature, and his oratory into bombast and mere fustian. His voice is not, at the best, one of the most harmonious ; he frequently neglects to manage it, and in the warmth of debate often becomes so hoarse as to render his accents dissonant, and nearly unintelligible : he has neither a very expressive or animated countenance, nor does he seem, any more than Phil. Stanhope, to have courted the Graces with any degree of success, in point of attitude, or the use he makes of his hands, head, feet, and arms.

On the whole, in spite of his flights through the regions of imagery, his frequent deviations from the question in debate, his dwelling upon trifles,

trifles, when matters of importance abound, with several other defects, which are manifestly thick-sown through his harangues, he is indubitably by much the most powerful and best informed speaker, on either side, in the House of Commons.

LORD LYTTLETON.

THIS young Nobleman at a very early period of life felt the effects of party-rage. He was returned for the borough of Bewdly, at the general election in 1768 ; but the late Noble Lord, his great and amiable father, being then in opposition, and many of his discourses proving rather unpalatable to those who led the majority, Volpone, * the old Ministerial Manager of the House, though then removed to another mansion under the same roof, interfered by the means of his agents so effectually, as to silence the young orator, by giving his seat to his opponent, after he had possessed it for the greater part of the first session. From thence we hear nothing of him, till his succeeding to his seat in the House of Peers, on the death of his father. We feel ourselves embarrassed in this part of our task ; for how is it possible to delineate the political character of a man, who, since his appearance on the public stage, has betrayed such a versatility of conduct ?

* Lord Holland.

conduct? Groping our way without any light to guide us, we cannot better express our own judgment, than by having recourse to a line of the well-known Richard Savage, of illegitimate and poetical memory, in a poem celebrating the advantages arising from being born without a father :

— “ He shines *eccentric*, like a comet’s blaze.”

If this conveys too vague and indefinite an idea of his political principles, we presume it may be further illustrated by the following short detail of his conduct in Parliament. He has voted with the Court, and against it, in the same session, and that on the great American question. He defended the Quebec bill very warmly, against the attack made on it by Lord Chatham. He supported the same Nobleman in his motion for withdrawing the troops in January 1775 from Boston.

He continued wavering the remainder of the session, till towards the conclusion, when he once more defended the Quebec bill. At the opening of the last session he spoke and voted against the

the Address, in answer to the King's speech, and maintained this opposition on the next great question, relative to the illegality of introducing foreign troops into the garrisons of Gibraltar and Minorca, without the previous consent of Parliament. Since that time, nay immediately, he supported the measure chalked out in the speech, without the public communications desired; and has acquiesced in the measure relative to the Hanoverians, though no redress, for what his Lordship thought fit to call a *gross* and *open violation* of the *Constitution*, has been hitherto given. His Lordship holds the abilities and politics of Administration in a very cheap light; he has told them so. He is a Whig in principle, he has declared it; yet he has adopted, supported, and *bepraised* the measures of those very Ministers, and deserted those very principles it was his greatest pride publicly to avow. He votes with Tories, in support of Tory doctrines; he co-operates with men he knows to be acting under the dominion of Tory influence.

We do not by these facts, thus stated, pretend to decide whether the principles he has
taken

taken up, or those he has deserted, are better suited to the genius and the true constitution of our government; but we would earnestly recommend to the Noble Lord to adopt some certain specific principles, to adhere to some system, or to abstain from giving decided opinions, till, in the language of his noble friend, * he shall have learned to *make up his mind*. A glare of talents, an impatience to render himself conspicuous, has led this young Nobleman into many political absurdities. He should of all things have most carefully avoided giving the *tone* in Parliament; he should have staid back, and received it from his seniors, men more able, and perhaps *better informed*. There were many reasons, which do not come within our plan to enumerate, nor would at all be material to our purpose, that should have whispered to him the impropriety of distinguishing himself as a parliamentary leader. Too eager for power, let him take care, be the event of the present party struggles what they may, that some unknown unexpected current will not set in so as to carry him *far wide* of his intended port. His Lordship seems to be

fond of traverse sailing. Let him beware, however, with *all* his *skill*, that he has not *left* more way than he *made*, since his last departure.

His Lordship's talents as a public speaker are acknowledged on all hands. His oratory, it is true, is of the declamatory kind ; but is, at the same time, so enriched with general and particular knowledge, by an acquaintance with the greatest orators of Greece and Rome, strengthened by sound observation, quickness of parts, and a subtle penetrating genius, as to remove it far above those lifeless or passionate turbulent harangues, which generally pass under that description.

The tenor of several of his *early* speeches, with the energy and animation which accompanied them, were better calculated than any we have heard, to call forth the spirit and rouse the indignation and resentment of the English nation, in defence of what *his* Lordship looks upon to be the constitutional rights of this country. His language is flowing, well chosen
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and correct; his observations pointed, and directed with judgment; his delivery sometimes graceful and animated; never cold, flat, or uncouth. He can reason well, and in detail; but it does not seem to be his *forte*. Nature, habit, and inclination invite him to assail his auditors through the medium of their passions; consequently he deals more in the bold, the inflammatory, and pathetic, than in laboured argument, definition, or logical deduction. He is remarkably judicious in debate, seldom deviating, and never losing sight of the question under discussion; and if he does, he always returns in time to the main road, and pushes forward with redoubled force and augmented vigour; in short, there is in some of his speeches a warmth of expression, a strength of colouring, a grace, and a passionate delicacy, that are *not* to be found in those of *any other*, in either House of Parliament.

On the other hand, his Lordship is too eager for renown, and catches too greedily at perfection. He has over-studied the graces
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of attitude and of elocution, which sometimes make him neglect matter, for mere sound and outside; and what is rather unfortunate, his labours operate in an inverse direction; for he frequently manages his voice so *dexterously* that you cannot hear a syllable he utters, and he then appears in the direct act of a posture-master, or a modern harlequin. He is all action, in strict conformity to that sage advice of the great master of his profession. If he had less of Garrick and Quintilian in his voice and manner, and more of Lord Camden and Lord George Germain, he would certainly cut a much more respectable figure than he does. His voice is but middling at the best; and it is certain he has spoiled it by a pedantic and theatric affectation of introducing into it a variety of which it will never admit. Like all mere orators, he never wants facts to support arguments, nor arguments of course from which he may draw deductions favourable to his cause. This is nothing peculiar to him; for it is common to the whole race of orators, from Isocrates to Charles Townshend. On the whole, however, Lord
Lyttelton

LORD LYTTELTON. 37

Lyttelton is at present the most able speaker on the part of Administration, after Lord Mansfield; and the most able in the House, allowing for all his defects, which are indeed much more numerous than here rehearsed, after the last-mentioned noble Lord; and the Lords Camden and Chatham.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

AS the political conduct of the several characters we have already drawn, or mean hereafter to delineate, constitutes part of our plan, we find ourselves much embarrassed to attempt, within the scanty limits set to publications of this kind, even a sketch of the eminent Statesman and Orator, who is to be the subject of this day: one of the most celebrated, we will venture to affirm, that has appeared on the public stage in this country, or perhaps in Europe, since the commencement of the present century; whether viewed in the light of an illustrious Citizen, swaying, leading, controlling, or directing his fellow-subjects in their several combinations, in their constituent and legislative capacities, up to the great efficient governmental powers of the state; or as operating with no less facility, success, and irresistible dominion, over the whole and almost every individual member of the grand European republic. In this point
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of view the task would indeed be great ; luckily, however, it does not properly fall within our province : this great man does not come under our observation, for the first time, till the year 1766 ; that remarkable period, when he exhibited in one day to three *astonished* kingdoms, in his own person, the Statesman *outwitted*, the Patriot *disgraced*, and the staunch *Whig* become a *Tory*, as well in *principle* as conduct. We leave to the able Historian, and the well-informed Memoir-writer, his Lordship's detailed character as Prime Minister, or rather civil dictator over the British empire, and the great arbiter of the interests of Europe ; a work, we dare venture to foretell, which will out-live the language in which it will be first written, and the liberties of that country over which he presided for nearly five years with so absolute a sway.

It is with infinite reluctance we draw our materials from any thing which may bear the most distant appearance of private unauthenticated anecdote, or party misrepresentation : but as the changes which preceded his Lordship's elevation to the Peerage, become necessary

- cessary to place that strange revolution in modern politics in a proper point of view; and as the facts here stated were of public notoriety, and remain uncontroverted to this day, or came to the writer's knowledge through a channel by which he could *not* be deceived; he flatters himself, such being the sources he draws from, that he will stand fully excused to the public for this seeming deviation from his original plan.

Lord Bute had scarcely retired from the helm, when he *repented* of the successor * he had himself recommended. A negotiation was therefore opened in the autumn 1763 with Mr. Pitt, and some of his friends. He had two or three conferences on the subject with a Great Personage; but the affair came to nothing. The ensuing summer again a larger communication was opened. Lord (now Duke of) Northumberland was talked of for First Lord of the Treasury. Lords Temple and Lyttelton were invited, and several consultations were held at Sion-house. This attempt terminated like the last, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer kept his ground another session.

Those

* Mr. George Grenville.

Those brigues and cabals, it may be well supposed, greatly disgusted him. Several direct disagreements arose between him and some of his patron's nearest friends. He imagined he began to take root. Lord Bute's brother was dismissed, in consequence of that imagination; but he soon found to his cost, that he had at least done a very *imprudent* act, for suddenly another negotiation was set on foot. Mr. Pitt had been tried directly, and Lord Temple obliquely: now Lord Temple was tried directly in his own person. The late Duke of Cumberland was assailed, and even submitted to be the bearer of the preliminaries on which the parties were to treat. Lord Lyttelton was proposed by his noble relation to preside at the Treasury or Council-table; and several other arrangements were partly fixed. This met with the fate of the two former negotiations. Lord Temple refused to take part in any Administration without Mr. Pitt's consent; the latter did not approve of Lord Bute's interference; and whatever esteem and veneration they might entertain for his Royal Highness as a soldier, they freely declared their unwillingness to enter into any Administration in which

which he might be supposed to have any particular weight and influence among the majority of the Cabinet, as they were very doubtful of his political talents. In this confused state of things, the party called the Old Whigs accepted of the offer. Mr. Grenville and the Bedford party were dismissed. Lord Rockingham was called to the Treasury. This Administration had many powerful impediments to struggle with, and was scarcely formed, when it received a mortal blow by the death of the Duke of Cumberland. It lived its year out, however; and now the last fatal attack was to be made on the once great Commoner and able Statesman. In the summer 1766, this attempt succeeded. Mr. Pitt applied now to Lord Temple, as the former did to him the preceding year. Lord Temple proposed Lord Lyttelton for two or three Cabinet appointments. The Presidency of the Council was spoken of. No, replied the great Commoner; that is engaged to Lord Northington, then Secretary of State. No, Conway stays in, and Lord Shelburne is to be the other. One or two other places were mentioned: No, says the great Commoner, the noble

ble Lord shall have a *pension*. The proposition was treated with disdain. The interview ended abruptly on that, as well as some other accounts, entirely unnecessary here to repeat. His Honour was created Earl of Chatham, and appointed Privy Seal. Several of his Lordship's most steady friends were turned out, and several of his most declared enemies either placed or pensioned by *himself*; among whom were many of the intimate, and some of the confidential friends of the Earl of Bute—Perhaps as worthy men as himself.

His Lordship's first act of power, relative to issuing the Proclamation prohibiting the exportation of corn, in direct contradiction to an express act of parliament, with the justification of that measure in Parliament, has been so often canvassed, that nothing remains to be said on the matter now, which would serve to excuse or condemn him: the subject has been exhausted, and the merits have been long since reduced to a single alternative; whether his Lordship meant it as an act of the most exalted benevolence, in the execution of which,

as one of the writers of the day said, he hazarded his *precious neck*, or whether he did it by way of mere experiment, to know what analogy there was between the power of the modern Council-table, and the Star-Chamber and High Commission Courts, as existing in the reigns of the Tudors and the first Stuarts, when exercised by a great and patriotic Minister, for the *good* of his country; nay for its salvation, or, as more technically expressed by his friend the Chancellor, * *salus populi est suprema lex*. Those are all matters of doubt and uncertainty; but we cannot pretend to *guess* from motives of *false politeness*, where we have the most undoubted documents to direct us. His Lordship voted the preceding session for the repeal of the Stamp Act. He chose a Chancellor of the Exchequer, † who thought proper to contradict every syllable he uttered, and every doctrine he laid down. The American Port duties were the first fruits of his administration. If, according to his *own logic* upon a former occasion, he wished not to be made responsible for measures he was not permitted

* Lord Camden.

† Charles Townsend.

mitted to guide, why did not he resign as soon as the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved in the Committee of Supply for laying duties on paper, painters colours, tea, and glass, imported into America? Or, at least, why did not he dismiss a man who he might easily have perceived only wanted to disgrace him, and who he always knew envied, feared, and detested him? His Lordship's apologists say, that it was a severe illness which prevented his presence in town, and his attendance in Parliament and the Cabinet. He himself has said, that the R——l promise of support, countenance, and confidence, was broken, and that his Treasurer * betrayed him. All this may be strictly true; but our faith does not go, nay cannot be *strained* to the slightest leaning of credibility to so improbable a story: promises might have been broken, friends might have been treacherous; but neither false friends nor R——l L——rs could hinder him from maintaining his *principles*, and vindicating his injured honour. But enough of the Lord Privy Seal; he went out like a candle's end, and we heard no more of him till the year 1770, when he once more commenced

* Duke of Grafton.

commenced a flaming patriot, and, as far as his health would permit, he has continued so ever since.

If we found ourselves embarrassed in sketching out a few of the leading features of this political phenomenon, in the character of a Statesman, we find ourselves no less puzzled to speak of him as an Orator. Contrary to the general opinion of the majority of all parties, his Lordship is made to give way to Lords Mansfield and Camden ; but we repeat once more, that we are guided by nothing but our own judgment, which, however slender, we chuse to follow, because we would rather be taxed with ignorance, than be conscious of courting popular approbation at the expence of truth, at least of impartiality.

Lord Chatham's oratory differs from any thing we ever heard uttered, or any rule or example extant in writing. It has consequently one merit, it is all his own ; was fabricated by him, and will certainly die with him. The
marvellous,

marvellous, the bold, the extravagant, the improbable, are severally his fort.

His oratory in Parliament resembles the romances of the last century, or rather the fictions, absurdities, and monstrous tales, which were the offspring of the ignorance, false gallantry, and wild enterprising spirit of the middle ages. His talents were brought forth to public view at a most favourable time, when an universal spirit of dissatisfaction ran through almost every degree of people against Walpole. He opened a thousand various batteries of abuse against his administration. He said every thing that came uppermost. He caught the affection and confidence of the people. He spread a degree of enthusiasm out of doors, which had been scarcely ever known before; and, at length, felt the flame in his own breast: and thus, from a variety of circumstances, established a dominion over his auditors, that Charles Townshend, Pratt, or Murray, who were infinitely his superiors, either as regular orators or found speakers, were never able to obtain. His Lordship's talents for public speaking

speaking are so universally known, and have been so often ably commented on, that little remains to be said; but just to give one instance of his manner and matter, which will explain how far his mere powers of debate excel his powers of true oratory or sound reasoning.—On his motion for withdrawing the troops from Boston, the beginning of last session but one, a thrill of astonishment, accompanied by the stillest silence, pervaded every part of the House, on his saying, “Three millions of Whigs with arms in their hands, nearly allied to the Whigs of England and Ireland, will never submit, &c.”—This was the species of oratory by which he was wont to strike his adversaries *dumb*, make Ministers *tremble*, and Englishmen *enthusiasts*. There was, however, one thing which his harangues produced: he persuaded this nation that they were *irrefragable* and *invincible*; he lived to *prove* the *truth* of what he *foretold*; and he is one of the few orators who from design, or a mere enthusiastic spirit, ever dealt in prophecy, and at the same time justified his predictions.—But for mere uniformity, his Lordship’s

ship's parliamentary portrait might here be very properly closed. His language is neither flowing nor elegant ; he frequently repeats the last words of the preceding sentence in order to assist his memory ; he scarcely ever attempts to prove any thing ; consequently his facts are mostly fabricated by himself, and his conclusions so many dictums raised on premises, borrowed, invented, or assumed.

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

THIS noble Lord's political character lies within a narrow compass ; having heard very little of him in *this line* (to borrow a favourite expression of his friend Howe) but that he enjoyed a place of no responsibility under the successive administrations of the Marquis of Rockingham, Lord Chatham, and the Duke of Grafton. About three years since, though unconnected with any particular set of men, and *seemingly* in opposition to the Court, he suddenly emerged out of his political obscurity, and took a very warm, conspicuous, and decided part in Parliament, relative to the inquiry into the state and condition of the affairs of the East-India Company. He was a buttress to the Minister on that trying occasion, and helped him to surmount the difficulties thrown in his way with a plausibility and address well suited to his situation, and perfectly correspondent, as the events which have since happened have fully proved, to his future views

views of ambition and active life. It was a very favourable, nay lucky circumstance for the noble Lord * who took the lead in that business, and who, in the progress of it, found himself powerfully opposed in the Cabinet, that he was supported in Parliament by three persons supposed to be warm in opposition, namely, the noble Lord who is the subject of the present observations, Sir William Meredith, and Mr. Cornwall. It gave a complexion to the measure, which nothing but time and a change of situation could develop or make intelligible.

The æra soon approached, which was to lay the immediate foundation for bringing his Lordship in a much more elevated and consequential point of view than he had hitherto appeared. Towards the close of the session now adverted to, the Minister, as a counter-balance to the ravages he had committed on the East-India Company, gave them leave, by a bill expressly passed for that purpose, to export their teas to North America. This consequently drew the old dispute, subsisting since

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* Lord North.

1768, relative to the duty laid on that commodity, into question. What happened on that occasion, is too recent in every person's memory to require a recapitulation. The tea, in whatever port it arrived, was either sent back unopened, or was destroyed. The people of Boston led the way; and, as the most violent and outrageous, incurred the resentments of the Court and Administration. Unwilling, however, to push matters to extremity; or fearful, more probably, to raise a storm in which they *might* be ship-wrecked; the session of 1774 commenced, and was held for some weeks without any particular notice being taken of the state of affairs in America. A spirit of temporizing and procrastination, such as had for the four preceding years prevailed, seemed still to pervade the King's servants. A gentleman, * however, strong in opposition, broke this ministerial repose. He roused the Ministers from those deceitful, unwholesome slumbers in which they had so long remained, so much to their own disgrace, and the dishonour of the nation. He gave notice, that on a particular day he would move for a Committee

* Colonel Jennings.

mittee of the whole House, to enquire into the American affairs. On that day the Minister's *mouth was opened*: he found himself pressed; and made an act of duty, what merely proceeded from *necessity*. It was not till the 9th of March 1774, that Lord North moved for a Committee; nor was it till that day, that, for the first time, Lord George Germain openly declared his sentiments upon the supremacy of the British Legislature, as a measure of Government, over all and every of the dominions and dependencies of the British Crown. The first fruit of the resolutions come to in the Committee, and which were expressly declarative of that right in the most unlimited and unconditional terms, was the Boston Port Bill. His Lordship supported and defended this bill throughout; but as he only looked upon it to be a mere law of *punishment*, no further effectual, than as it might be supposed to operate on the inhabitants, he suggested a bill of protection to those who were to be employed in carrying the provisions of the act into execution. This was the rise of the bill for the trial of persons charged with offences in North America, in any other province,

vince, or for bringing them over to England. The law had a double view. It was designed to protect the military, when called out to the aid of the civil power, from the prejudiced verdict of a Provincial Jury, as well as to bring offenders in that country to justice, either in some other colony or in Great Britain. The out-line of this bill was recommended by his Lordship. It was adopted with gratitude, and pursued with steadiness by the Minister, till it received the royal assent. This, and the other which followed it, that for altering the charter of Massachusetts's Bay, were both of his Lordship's hand, at least the former; and it is now only in the womb of time to decide, whether they were the *wisest*, or most *pernicious*, that ever received the sanction of a British Parliament.

This Nobleman's political character presents little more worthy of public notice, till his entrance into office last winter, but his voting with the Minister upon a declared principle that the British Parliament have a clear, decisive, constitutional right to bind the American Colonies

Colonies in all cases whatsoever; and in pursuance of that right, to accept of no concessional compromise; to accede to no conciliatory proposition, short of unconditional submission. As his Lordship has acted openly, so he has adhered to his declarations with all possible steadiness. He has given a tone of vigour in deliberation, and alacrity in execution, unknown in the Cabinet or in office before his appointment; and be the event of the present *momentous struggle* what it may, truth authorizes us to acknowledge, that as far as people at a distance may with confidence pronounce, he is one of the *few* who can be selected from *any* party, that has made his official conduct exactly correspond with his parliamentary declarations, hitherto at least, without any *mixture* of tergiversation or alloy.

His Lordship's abilities as a speaker are universally confessed. If he be not so diffusive or well informed as Mr. Burke, nor so subtle, persuasive, or confident as Mr. Thurloe, he has very singular advantages over either of them. He always confines himself to the subject of debate.

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debate. He never fails to keep some point, on which the weight of it turns, steadily in view. He approaches with a moderate but steady step; and is generally sure to carry home conviction to the understandings, as well as to the hearts of his hearers. His manner is peculiar; his style is nervous and manly; his language elegance itself; and his observations pointed, sententious, and convincing. He never affects to say shining or witty things, nor lays the least foundation for regret in his auditors, but when he sits down.

On the other hand, there is a certain failure in his voice, and labour in his delivery, that is not very pleasing; his cadences are uniform, and far from being harmonious. His Lordship does not much abound in that kind of matter which may be supposed even to lie directly in his way; he deals mostly in propositions controverted by his antagonists, and argues from them as principles already proved or assented to. His speeches are rather confirmative than persuasive; better calculated to keep his friends with him, than to bring proselytes over

to his opinions. In short, his Lordship is deficient in illumination, variety and detail; or, if within his reach, neglects to use them; by which means the judicious and correct arrangement of his matter is hardly sufficient to compensate for his seeming obscurity and sterility of invention.

COLONEL BARRÉ.

THE rank here assigned to this gentleman, as a Parliamentary Speaker, second on the opposition list in the House of Commons, may probably be controverted by the majority of our readers: but we repeat this apology, that we wish to be impartial; that unconnected with faction or even party, whether in or out of administration, we feel no predilection for any man or *kn*ot of men whatsoever, but what their public virtue or abilities entitle them to; and farther, that we find very powerful objections to the pretensions of the *only* two competitors (Mr. Dunning and Mr. Fox) who could have possibly stood in the way of the precedence here given.

Colonel Barré's first appearance within that circle, which is the present object of delineation, was under the auspices of Lord Chatham in 1766, when, as the noble Earl expressed himself

himself on a subsequent occasion, "he found himself over-ruled by a secret influence, suggested, nourished, and supported, by *secret* treachery, official power, and public councils, by which he learned, when it was *too late*, that there was *something* within the Court *greater* than the *King himself*." He continued, under this administration, one of the Vice-Treasurers of Ireland, till the dismissal of his noble friend, Lord Shelburne, from office, whose political fortunes he had shared since his first appearance as a public man; and till that period so justly described by the noble Earl first mentioned, when "there were not *two* planks of the state vessel left together, which had been originally launched." He has, with hardly an exception, continued uniformly in opposition ever since; but as we set out with declarations of *impartiality* and unconnection, it is become a part of our duty to mark the least *déviatiôn* in the Colonel from this stated line of conduct.

The resolutions in the Committee of the whole House, in the beginning of the spring-session, 1774, having, we fear, fatally spawned
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that celebrated law called the Boston Port Bill, as the first-born of those measures which have produced the present civil war in America, it met with the Colonel's support, contrary to every anterior and subsequent opinion of his in parliament. This was matter of surprise at the time, and there were *some* who did not hesitate to impute so sudden and unexpected an alteration of sentiment to motives which have since governed several others, who then stood high in the estimation of the public, but who have since flatly *belied* all their *former* professions, or at least have *learned* to be persuaded that they were mistaken or misled. The observation here made, was not barely confined to the suspicions or murmurs of people without doors; it has frequently been objected to him by several of the Members of Administration in debate, when he has arraigned, in the most unqualified terms, the measures of Government, and charged their authors with ignorance, temerity, and injustice. We have heard them more than once retaliate on him, in nearly the following words: "The Boston Port Bill, no matter whether a wise, an expedient, or an equitable

equitable measure, drew the nation into this war. Why did you support it so warmly, with all those powers of oratory and ratiocination, which you so eminently possess? Every thing which has since followed grew out of that measure. If it was a wise measure, why not continue to support it? If a bad one, why for a minute lend it your countenance?" The Colonel's answer can only be properly decided upon by the monitor residing within his own breast. He has repeatedly said on those occasions, "that the Minister gave him and his friends, both in and out of Parliament, the most full and specific assurances, that, if the bill were permitted to pass both Houses, with an appearance of firmness and unanimity, the East-India Company would receive reparation for the tea which had been destroyed the preceding autumn; that this would produce measures of lenity and conciliation at this side of the water; that Government meant to relax on certain material points; and that every dispute subsisting between Great Britain and her Colonies would terminate in the most amicable manner, equally for the advantage and honour

honour of both countries. But when this point was *gained*, Administration feeling themselves *stronger* than they *expected*, they proceeded to hostilities on the constitutional rights of the Colonies, by following the Boston Port Bill with the Massachusetts Bay Charter Bill, and that for the removal of offenders in America for trial to another colony, or home to Great Britain." We have stated the charge and the defence, and very cheerfully *commit* the *whole* to the judgment of our intelligent readers, to decide upon what from us can deserve no *public opinion*.

From the months of April and May, 1774, the history of this gentleman's political character may be contained in a nut-shell. He has, from that period to the present, held up the *bighest tone* of opposition; and has frequently made the Minister uneasy on his seat; filling at the same time the whole Treasury Bench with *terror* and *dismay*.

Colonel Barré's oratory is manly, nervous, and convincing, and such as may be supposed to have

have actuated the breast, and have fallen from the mouth of a Grecian or Roman General, when the Legislator, Archon, or Consul, were able to carry into execution those plans and operations of war, which they proposed or supported in the senate or their popular assemblies. He is generally well informed, particularly in the way of his profession, and never fails to deliver his sentiments in open, bold terms, seemingly without any predilection for his friends or his opponents, from the former of whom he frequently differs. His matter is not various, but generally selected and well chosen. He never speaks on any subject of which he is not well informed, and usually deals in truths too clear to be controverted, and too severe to be palliated or defended. The Minister of War, * as well as the Minister of the Finances, † frequently feels the weight of those truths, and the energy of expression with which they are accompanied and enforced; and that in a manner too pungent and mortifying to be ever *forgotten*, or perhaps *forgiven*.

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* Lord Barrington.

† Lord North.

He is well acquainted with the whole detail of the military establishment, with the arrangements dependent on it, and with the proper ordering of the troops, whether directed to operations of war, or in times of domestic tranquillity. In short, as he is one of the most pointed forcible speakers in the House, though perhaps far from being the greatest orator, if we were to hazard a conjecture on mere appearance, we are inclined to think that Administration would esteem him the most valuable acquisition they could at present obtain ; and that he is the individual in the House of Commons, on the side of opposition (Messrs. Burke, Dunning, or Fox, not excepted) in the present state of things, whose defection would deserve most to be regretted.

On the other hand, Colonel Barré, though a man of letters, does not possess the extensive funds of knowledge for which some of his partizans are so eminently distinguished. The early part of his days was passed in camps, and learning the rudiments of his profession, *not* in Courts or Senates. His oratory has few of those

those graces which recommend even trifles. He seldom directs his eloquence so as to gain the avenues to the heart ; and when he makes the attempt, he always misses his way ; he never studied the graces ; or if he did, he made as unsuccessful a progress as Phil. Stanhope. He speaks like a soldier, thinks like a politician, and delivers his sentiments *like a man*. On the whole, he may and ought to profit from the sneers of his antagonists. They call him the *Story Teller*, and with great justice ; for whether it be the salvation of a great empire, or a skirmish with a few wild Indians, the Colonel is never at a loss for a story in point, in which he himself had the fortune to be one of the *Dramatis Personæ*.

We will close this rude sketch, by affirming, that we have heard him interlard some of his most pointed speeches on the most important occasions, with anecdotes that would disgrace a school-boy at the Christmas recess ; or a garrulous old woman, when she takes it into her head to be most narrative, uninteresting, and loquacious.

LORD HILLSBOROUGH.

AT the commencement of the period, to which we have limited the grounds of information, which we propose from time to time to lay before the public, namely, the *change* of Administration in 1766, under the auspices of the Earl of Chatham, we find the noble Lord, whose character as a public man, and abilities as a public speaker, are to furnish the subject of this day, provided for as a court *veteran* of *tried* service, on *half-pay*, by being put into possession of that lucrative appointment, Post-Master-General of the British empire. He was too great and *useful* a servant, and too able and *confidential* a support to that *system*, introduced at the accession of his present Majesty, to be permitted to suffer in the struggles of *party*.

As soon therefore as certain *closet* assurances had unhappily lulled Lord Chatham into a fatal security; as soon as the intrigues of the Junto had succeeded, so as to *detach* the First Lord of the

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LORD HILLSBOROUGH. 67

the Treasury (Duke of Grafton) from his *principal*; and finally, as soon as, through similar arts, and the unbounded ambition and unprecedented versatility and vanity of the man, the very Chancellor of the Exchequer (Charles Townshend) whose business it was to support the measures of the First Commissioner of the Treasury in the House of Commons, at once *betrayed* his *engagements* as a Man, and his *office* as a Minister, by driving the venal herd of St. Stephen's into the measures of American taxation; the moment arrived in which his *old friends* saw the necessity of bringing Lord Hillsborough into a situation, which would enable him to co-operate in their designs. It was not, however, till early in the year 1768, some months after the death of that *blazing meteor*, * that compound of great talents and great folly, of *speculative virtue* and actual *meanness* and *duplicity*, that his Lordship was appointed Secretary of State for the American Colonies. Hitherto the office bore another name, that of First Lord or Commissioner of Trade and Plantations; but in proportion to the magnitude of the objects then
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* The late Charles Townshend.

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in contemplation by the *chosen few*, and the known deserts and secret disposition of the man, a greater *eclat* was given to this new appointment than had been known since the days of Edward the Sixth. A third Secretary of State was added, the whole power of the Board was invested in him, and the arduous undertaking of alternately bullying and soothing the Colonies, as circumstances served, was committed to the hero of these memoirs.

The Port duties, laid on in 1767 by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as has been before observed, contrary to the sentiments of the ostensible Minister,* and the young Whig† First Lord of the Treasury, having occasioned the resolution and united determination of the Colonies *not to import* any article of British growth or British commerce, the first official act of our new Secretary was the writing of that famous letter to the respective Governors of the Colonies, desiring them to assure the several Assemblies, as a matter *previously considered*, and *finally determined on* in Cabinet, that *no* further taxes for the purpose of raising a revenue

* Earl Chatham.

† Duke of Grafton.

a revenue in America should be laid on, raised, or levied by a British Parliament; and that if they (the Governors) could prevail on the respective Assemblies for the *present* to acquiesce in the Port duties, they were instructed likewise to *promise*, for Administration, that a formal acquiescence was *all* that was desired; for it was the intention of Government, not only to *relax*, but to take the first opportunity to procure a *repeal* of them, the mere unexercised right being all that was actually insisted on.

We do not pretend to affirm, that these were the literal contents of this very memorable circular letter; but we are confident, that taking its naked import, and coupling that with the *soul* and spirit that was *breathed* into it on the other side of the Atlantic, this engagement on the part of Administration, supposed likewise to contain the real sentiments and ultimate resolutions of a British Parliament, was the construction in which it was meant it should be understood by the Assemblies of every province, from Nova-Scotia to South-Carolina inclusive.

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The next matter of importance we find his Lordship concerned in, was his disputes with the new-established Colony of Grenada. In this affair, after a very long and warm contest, he was more fortunate; for he at length prevailed so far as to introduce the Roman Catholics into the Council of that island, contrary to every principle of the British constitution as by law established.—The Governor, for opposing this unwarrantable stretch of the prerogative, was called home; and in the end dismissed or disgraced.

In the year 1772, this faithful servant, this *high-prerogative* Minister, was to depart, like a full-fed guest, with all his blushing honours thick upon him. He was created an English Earl; and though Lord Dartmouth was appointed to succeed him, he was, and is still, esteemed one of the most firm, able, and faithful supporters of what generally passes under the denomination of the *Court* system. His vacating his seat at the Cabinet table, and the resignation of Bernard, were found necessary. A *new* attempt was to be made; America was to be *led*, not *drove*; America was to be *divided*,

vided, under the appearance of conciliation and concession.—This could not be effected under the direct administration of a man, who was neither *belirved* nor depended upon by a single individual from Hudson's Bay to Pensacola.

His Lordship never meant, however, to remain an idle or inactive spectator. The new modelling of the charter of the province of Massachusetts's Bay is said to be the work of his hands. Be that as it may, he defended it in debate in the House of Lords on the 14th of March 1776, with all the affection and partiality which parents are apt to betray for their own offspring; and attributed the whole of the present civil war to its *not* being adopted, and carried into execution earlier.

The Quebec bill, it is reported, owes some of its boldest lineaments to the same quarter; while the hardships which the poor *afflicted* slaves on the American continent suffer from their *merciless* Egyptian task-masters, it is believed, have been often *lamented* bitterly by his Lordship in private.

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These we look upon to be rather the effect of factious rancour and popular surmise; for how is it possible that those several measures, particularly the intention of emancipating the slaves, could have originated with his Lordship, when they have been separately charged to the account of Lord Bute, and Lord Mansfield, we presume, with equal justice? unless at the same time we *solve* the difficulty, by supposing that those respectable personages clubbed their wits in effecting the glorious and arduous undertaking; a supposition still, if possible, *more improbable*, and bearing infinitely less the appearance of *truth*.

His Lordship, though hardly entitled to a seat on the second form, as a public orator; is undoubtedly one of the most useful and plausible speakers on the part of Administration. The ground he takes in relation to American affairs is exactly the same occupied by Lord George Germain, as to the supreme right of the British Legislature. He supposes the right to tax to be included in the general supremacy, and the alteration of charters, and the force necessary

to carry either or both into effectual execution, to flow consequently from the supreme power of the state over the several component parts of the Britannic empire. He is certainly a man of business ; and, from a long acquaintance with it in its several forms, both in Office, Council, and Parliament, is able, with moderate talents, to do more than any man with double his capacity on either side of the question. His harangues are rather heavy, and want illumination ; nevertheless he possesses more judgment in debate, in proportion to his talents, than any man in either House. If he is slow, he is tolerably sure. The arrangement of his matter is always judicious and correct ; and whenever he fails, it is more from a sterility of genius, than from any want of sound judgment. He is rather convincing than persuasive ; has more of the courtier than the logician, and of the mere declaimer than the orator. In fine, he is the child of *labour* and *industry*, not of genius ; and has verified, in some measure, what the ancient biographers report of Demosthenes, that perseverance and industry will surmount any thing ; for with a

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person, voice, mien, and elocution far below par, we venture to pronounce him the third best speaker on the part of Administration in the House of Peers.

DUKE OF GRAFTON.

THE political character of this Nobleman, while it will exhibit as marvellous and astonishing a succession of events as any which have happened, either in Court, Parliament, or Cabinet, the last ninety years, will likewise include in it an account of every material measure which originally promoted or led to the present unnatural civil war raging in America.

Upon the arrangements proposed and carried into execution, under the patronage and interference of the late Duke of Cumberland, in 1765, commonly called the Rockingham Administration, his Grace was appointed one of the Secretaries of State, and continued in that situation till after the conclusion of the session, when he thought proper to resign about the month of June 1766.

This resignation, or sudden desertion of his friends, is what has puzzled every man, who

does not chuse to form his opinions on mere popular reports, or party misrepresentations, originating in vain surmises, in exaggerated anecdotes, or in spleen, disappointment, and personal pique.

In this state of indecision we have nothing to do but report facts, and leave the public to form their conclusions.

Some time in the course of the session, finding a most formidable opposition to the measures of Administration, he lamented its weakness, and said, for his part, he could not think of much longer remaining a member of it; because, with the best dispositions to serve their country, the present Ministers every day experienced a want of support both in Parliament and *elsewhere*. He added, though he positively intended to resign, that he would, if called upon again, cheerfully join in any future Administration that should be formed upon a larger basis, particularly if a certain great man, * a leading member of the other House, were to be at the head of it.

* Mr. Pitt.

On this open declaration in Parliament, two observations were made at the time, by a few. In two months after, they were repeated with more confidence, and became more generally believed. The first political conjecture was, that his Grace had learned, that his party had lost their power, and that a change of Ministry was soon to take place, in the arrangement of which Mr. Pitt was to take the lead: the other, which was rather the effect of what followed, than of any thing which then appeared, that his Grace was employed to throw out this hint as a bait to the great man, the matter being previously considered and determined on, in order to *strip* him of his popularity. None of these secret transactions can in our opinion be decided, but by the parties themselves. Every one, on such occasions, will or ought to think for himself; under that privilege we can hardly be persuaded that his Grace designedly stooped so low as to be the pimp, spy, or tool of any party, much less of the avowed authors of a Court system, formed on the most rigid doctrines of Filmer, Leslie, and Barclay. He was liable to error, but we can hardly bring ourselves to believe that he

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was actuated by treachery, or swayed by deliberate malice.

The time soon approached, when his Grace was to appear entirely in a new light. On the advancement of Mr. Pitt to the Peerage, in August 1766, his Grace was appointed First Lord of the Treasury; the new-created Earl of Chatham Lord Privy Seal, being supposed to be the ostensible Minister. His Lordship's illness depriving the young First Commissioner of his assistance, the nominal command, of course, devolved on his Grace. A kind of political juggle took place. Charles Townsend wavered, staggered, and fell. Lord Chatham threw himself on the illustrious House of Bedford. The new Financier grew giddy from pride or incapacity; or rather, we suspect, through the arts of those who were set about him to betray him. At this fatal instant, in the very whirlwind of folly, treachery, vanity, and treason *against the country*, were the dearest interests of the British empire sacrificed. The old Whigs, under Lord Rockingham, were either disgraced or seduced; the
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new-created Earl was compelled, by the most unequivocal proofs, to write a *satire* on all future patriots, and pretensions to public spirit ; and the noble Duke who is the subject of the present observations, after taking the most vigorous and decided part in the repeal of the Stamp Act, through the treachery of his Chancellor * of the Exchequer, the influence of the Closet, the sudden change of sentiments of that hallowed mansion, and the consequences arising from such a change of sentiments among the King's Friends, at least acquiesced in the American Port duties.

From that fatal instant, every thing dear, important, and valuable to this country, was alternately sacrificed to the dark dangerous designs of a set of men, whom *nobody* knows, *somebody* pays and employs to effect his despotic purposes ; whom nobody can name, without hazarding an act of the most cruel injustice ; whose cabals Britain hath severely felt the effects of, and her children, to the latest posterity, may probably have cause to execrate in the bitterness of their hearts.

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* Charles Townshend.

It is no part of our plan to enter into any discussion on the right of the Commons of Great-Britain to tax unrepresented America, though we do not retain a single doubt of the impolicy and inexpediency of endeavouring to effect it by force of arms. Be that as it may, it is our duty to relate the part the Duke of Grafton took in that business, as First Lord of the Treasury. This we find very fully stated in his speeches in Parliament, since his resignation of the office of Privy Seal, at the opening of the last session, and in part confirmed by his brother Ministers; because, if the facts were at first denied, when afterwards re-asserted, and frequently repeated by his Grace, they effectually received the fullest and fairest stamp of authenticity; the objections or denials on the part of Administration containing little more than mere quibbles on words, and mistakes relative to trivial circumstances. Two of these, out of many others, we shall give as a specimen. The Duke of Grafton asserted, that he was *out-voted* in Cabinet. Lord Weymouth, denied it, and insisted, the numbers were *equal*. This was on the 5th of March last. On the 14th his Grace insisted he was right;

right ; said he had looked over his papers, and found a note from Lord Hillsborough, who informed him that the question was carried against him by a majority of one. On this last day, Lord Hillsborough denied the sending the Cabinet note ; but neither his Lordship nor Lord Weymouth presumed to controvert the fact, of his Grace being out-voted. His defence on consenting to the Port duties laid on in 1767, was shortly this : That when the American military establishment came before the Committee of Supply, the House of Commons rose as one man, and insisted, that the Colonists should be obliged to contribute towards the public burdens ; particularly, that they should make some equivalent for the estimates now voting. On applying to such of the members of Administration as were of the other House, they assured him that all resistance would be vain. This not satisfying him, he was determined to oppose the bill in the House of Lords ; but was prevailed on at length to desist, on the mere motive of impropriety ; as he was confidently assured, that any opposition to a money-bill, in that House, would be highly resented by the Commons ;

would create a breach between the two Houses; and might in the end be productive of the very worst consequences, both to Government and to the public in general. It did not, however, prevent him from expressing his disapprobation of the bill, and informing their Lordships, in one of its stages, that the measure was *not* his; but that, since the other House seemed resolved to assert the right, he did every thing in his power to render the law as palatable and innoxious as possible, by coupling the duty on tea with an actual saving of nine-pence *per* pound, by granting a drawback of the whole duty of one shilling *per* pound on exportation of that commodity to America, and laying on only three-pence on importation into that country in lieu thereof. This is his Grace's state of the part he took in the Port duties. In 1769, however, when he found that all his predictions relative to the folly and bad policy of taxing America had been fatally verified, he resolved to make another attempt to rescue this country from the ruin and misery with which it is now threatened. With that view, he moved in the Cabinet in 1769, that the American Port duties should be totally

tally repealed; but he was at length outvoted by a majority of one, as has been before observed. Here the intelligent reader will be apt to ask, why his Grace did not resign, at least in the latter instance, when he found himself thus thwarted, counteracted, or overruled. It is not our business, as merely relating facts, to become an advocate *for* or *against* any man: but we presume to say, that there may be situations, into which a Minister *may* be led by the *arts* of Court seduction, or his own inexperience, credulity, or folly, that it may not be safe or expedient for him to tell the truth, or assert his own innocence; and that there may be situations and circumstances, likewise, when and where it may be as *hazardous* to seek or regain the confidence of his quondam *friends* and associates, as to refuse to execute the *dirtiest* work of his merciless seducers and task-masters. These, it is true, are no more than mere conjectures; but, we trust, the day of reckoning is not far off, when those, and several other transactions of no less importance to the well-being of this distracted empire, will be laid open in all their naked deformity.

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There is one measure, that of the Middlesex election, and the previous expulsion of Mr. Wilkes, which has been solely attributed to his Grace. Whether this measure originated with him, or was dictated as an act of duty, we hold him equally *responsible* to the people. If he acted on pure principles of conviction, we feel for him as an honest, misled man; if he carried it through both Houses, contrary to his own opinion, and as a sacrifice at the shrine of magistratical oppression and revenge, we do not hesitate to affirm, that his nearest and warmest friends and admirers have good reason to lament, that war entered the Royal closet.

His Grace resigned, in 1770, the post of First Commissioner of the Treasury, and still continued to support the measures of the Court. His obedience to the wishes of his Royal Master, and his approbation of the measures pursued by those from whom he had just parted, were so kindly received by the person who had it in his power to reward him, that he did not long continue out of office. He was, in the succeeding June twelvemonth, appointed Lord Privy

Privy Seal ; in which post he remained till his late resignation, when he declared boldly and openly against the measures now pursuing against America.

The two first sessions after the commencement of the present troubles in America, he spoke and voted with Administration. The reasons assigned by his Grace for his alteration of conduct were, that he had not sufficient information to determine his judgment; that such as was imparted to him, was *false*, or the facts were *misrepresented*; that he always disapproved of coercing America by force of arms, but hoped in the beginning that the people of that country would submit; that being thus misinformed, he supported measures he would otherwise never have consented to; that although the right had been clear, the asserting of it in the present state of our finances, and of the other powers of Europe, would be inexpedient; that the point of inexpediency became still more glaring and manifest, when the real strength and ability of America came to be revealed, and the actual disposition of its inhabitants seriously and attentively considered;
and

and that the only two specific measures relating to America, which he supported since the spring session 1774, were the Boston Port and Charter bills, which he had been solely induced to do upon false or ill-grounded information, being assured by those whose business it was to be thoroughly acquainted and perfectly satisfied of the real disposition of the inhabitants of Boston, and the people of Massachusetts Bay, that it was in the former instance the intention of the Bostonians to make reparation for the tea to the East-India Company; and in the latter, the earnest wish of the principal land-owners, merchants, and tradesmen of that province, to have their charter altered and modified. Thus, he said, he had been all along *deceived* directly in matters of fact, *misled* in matters of opinion, and constrained, either to give his support *blindfolded*, or withhold it on principle.—In such a mass of facts, and such a contradiction in conduct, it is impossible to argue even with plausibility, much less decide with candour or precision: but it seems on a transient view, uninformed as we are of the true motives which actuated his Grace, rather a little unfortunate that his eyes were
not

not opened *earlier*, or that he trusted so *much* and so *long* to those of others; for most indubitably, in point of *pure principle*, unconnected with the events of war, there did not exist a single reason for his supporting the Duke of Richmond's motion on the 5th. of March, 1776, which did not hold equally strong, for his supporting that made by Lord Chatham, almost in the same words, full thirteen months before.

We have waded through this painful task with no small degree of reluctance, if not disgust, because we found ourselves under the necessity to perform it at this very important crisis, in order that the nation, if our situation should become more critical, may know and look up to those who are supposed only to have it in their power to relieve them; namely, the powerful and distinguished leaders in both Houses: and yet we have been compelled to the mortifying necessity, so far as we have hitherto proceeded, to impress substantially on the minds of our readers this eternal truth, that every public man on *either* side has given, in some *one* part or *other* of his political conduct,

duet, the most irrefragable testimonies of his want of talents, or want of principle; or, which comes nearly to the same point, a compound of both indolence, inattention, and indifference to the true interests of his country.

The Duke of Grafton is one of the most persuasive, or rather pathetic speakers in the House. His speeches are delivered in the style of a gentleman and a scholar. His language is chosen, chaste, and correct. His judgment in arranging his matter is not excelled, perhaps not equalled, by any on either side of the House. He may be sometimes flat and confused, but he is never vulgar, slovenly, or ignorant. As he is a strict observer of the decorum of debate, and the dignity of the august assembly in which he has the honour to sit, any deviation from it while he is up, such as talking, changing seats, &c. is very apt to disconcert him, and disarrange his ideas. From the same mode of thinking, he is ready to catch fire when any coarse or sarcastic expressions fall from his antagonists, or when any thing personal is directed to himself; but even
then

then he generally restrains his feelings, and retorts with the energy and dignity becoming his elevated rank and senatorial situation. Lord Mansfield has more than once *felt* the effects of this irascible disposition, and that even before his Grace came over to Opposition ; since when there seems a certain acrimony, whenever an opportunity happens, in all his speeches, hinting, if not directly pointed towards that noble and learned Lord. How far this can be reconciled to his former situation, when in high office, and when the learned Lord was supposed to influence those counsels which his Grace, as Prime Minister for nearly four years, was presumed to direct, we do not pretend to determine. He is equally liberal of his hints of pernicious counsels having been given, and of the impressions they may have made in a place, where in the world they ought to be soonest resisted. He has even ventured so far as to liken addresses of a more modern date to those presented to the infatuated James the Second ; and, not stopping there, has spoken of the possibility, if not probability, of a similar catastrophe. He has reprehended the King's servants in the strongest

est terms for their despotic doctrines in Parliament, and their correspondent measures, and lamented, in the face of the whole nation, the dangerous effects such doctrines may be productive of, when it is known that they are promulgated, and publicly asserted and maintained by those who have equally the will and opportunity of endeavouring to instil them into the *Royal ear*. On the whole, as he is one of the most able, so if he could once more regain the *confidence* of the party he at first embarked with, and the *favour* and *good opinion* of the public, he would be, without question, by much the most formidable opponent to the measures of the Court in either House of Parliament.

MR. WEDDERBURN, E,

SOLICITOR-GENERAL.

AS we have professed, at the outset of this undertaking, that we meant to abstain from all personal anecdote, or even to push our political inquiries farther back than the memorable period of 1766, we find ourselves under the necessity of taking the first notice of this gentleman in that year, in the political *suite* of the late Mr. George Grenville, sharing his fortunes, and inspired by the same active zeal for the honour and interests of his country. Mr. Wedderburne's great talents had not as yet blazed forth in their *meridian lustre*; and we do not find that he drew the attention of the public to any extraordinary degree till about the year 1768, in the affair of the Middlesex Election, when his patron very *consistently* took it into his head to oppose, in the most marked and forcible manner, the expulsion of Mr. Wilkes, though under his own administration, but just four years before, the same
Mr.

Mr. Wilkes was expelled, for the very same crime, with the addition of abusing a Secretary of State in the news-papers. Mr. Wedderburne now exerted himself as much in the defence of Mr. Wilkes, as he ever did before in his condemnation; and at length, to convince such as might not probably be persuaded that he was in *earnest*, he made a public tour throughout the several ridings, towns, and districts in the extensive county of York, to warn them of the dangers with which they and all the freeholders of Great Britain were threatened, on account of the late unconstitutional, corrupt decision of the House of Commons, in the affair of the Middlesex Election. So zealous was he in his endeavours to procure satisfaction for the wound the constitution received by that decision; and so hostile was he, even to his intimate friends, when they differed with him on this point; that having been returned for the borough of Richmond, in *comitatu Ebor.* through the interest of his worthy friend Sir Laurence Dundas, he applied for the Chiltern Hundreds, sooner, it was supposed, than owe a seat in Parliament to a person whose political ideas were

were so fatally *contaminated* by sentiments and opinions, inculcated by the leaders of a *Court system*, which he did not hesitate to reprobate in *all* its parts.

It is enough to say, that he pursued this line of conduct uniformly till the death of his friend and patron Mr. Grenville, in the winter 1771, a few days before the meeting of Parliament; and that he has ever since been as steady a friend to Administration, as he was, while Mr. Grenville lived, a warm and able adversary. Among many other proofs of what is here loosely asserted, his conduct during the session of 1770, generally called the *Horned Cattle Session*, furnishes two very striking ones. The first of these was on Mr. Dowdeswell's motion, "That the House of Commons is bound, in all matters of election, by the law of the land, and the custom and usage of Parliament, being part of the law thereof:" the other, as more particularly militating against his present conduct, may not be unworthy of public attention.

It was on the 9th of May, 1770, on a motion of Mr. Burke's for the production of American papers, and several resolutions moved in consequence thereof, that Mr. Wedderburne, in reply to Lord Clare (now Earl Nugent) if we recollect right, delivered himself nearly to the following purport: He said, he was really *astonished* to see with what *ease* and confidence *some* great Statesmen could *reconcile* the most marked inconsistencies between *conduct* and *opinion*; that his Lordship had, in his own person, not only given the fullest testimony that such things might happen, but that they were avowed without blushing or apology; that if he had not been *convinced* by what he now heard, he imagined his Lordship would have been one of the last men breathing to charge others with versatility in politics, when he himself could take a post at the head of the American department, under a Ministry that had repealed the Stamp Act, upon the principle of being against *all* American taxation, though the noble Lord but the very preceding session supported the Stamp Act with all his might. From the short time it took his
Lordship,

Lordship, and some other great Ministers, * to settle these contrarieties, it was evident that the *concealed* authors of the present system of American measures had the address to unite persons and parties of the most contradictory opinions; and such being the case, he trusted it would likewise unite their opponents to pursue one steady plan of action, that of preventing the impending ruin of this country, by the total loss of its American dominions.—He shewed (or he rather predicted) that by the measures then pursuing (and since unhappily adhered to) America, which in the reign of *George the Second* constituted a part of the British empire, would in the reign of *George the Third* be totally *dissevered* from it; that the American colonies had ceased to be British dominions, and were no more so now than Calais, which, as well as they, was once an English province. He then turned to the creating a new office, that of Secretary of State for the Colonies, which he insisted could not be legally nor constitutionally done; that the precedent quoted from the reign of Edward the Sixth was a miserable pretext for evading a positive law, with the

* Supposed to mean the Duke of Grafton.

the dark design of placing a *favourite* and obsequious willing *slave* at the head of the American department. That obedience was the chief, nay the only merit, sought or expected by those who had the disposal and arrangement of all the great, efficient, and responsible offices of the state. If that were not the true standard of merit, he was satisfied that some person, whose knowledge of commerce, experience in the system of our colonies and plantations, whom prudence, firmness, and a well-grounded conduct marked more particularly, would have been fixed on to fill so weighty and important a post. He was sorry, however,—yet he felt himself compelled to declare, in the most express terms, that the Minister * put at the head of that scarcely legal department, was *not* fit for it; that his conduct was such as called for his removal; and that he thought these resolutions, moved by his honourable friend (Mr. Burke) led by the justest steps to what must produce that effect.

This

* Lord Hillsborough.

† Lord North.

This was Mr. Wedderburne's *celebrated* speech; and such were his sentiments and opinions, and, sorry we are to add, *predictions* on the 9th of May, 1770. Pity it is, particularly since he was called to assist the present Administration, and was appointed private *tutor* to the great State Atlas, † that he neither believed those predictions himself, or if he did, that he was never able to persuade either his pupil, the Cabinet, the Junto, or his facetious antagonist, Robert Earl Nugent of the kingdom of Ireland, to attend to them.

The remainder of Mr. Solicitor's political character would cut a better figure by way of diary than any other, could we possibly recollect the dates. Dispensing, however, with an exact compliance with those minutiae, we shall study brevity and faithfulness in the following loose sketch as much as possible. In November, 1770, Mr. Grenville died; the day after he was buried, Mr. Wedderburne began, for the first time, to distrust his own predictions. During the spring session, 1771, having promised to falsify every one of them on the same

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day,

† Lord North.

day, viz. on the 23d day of January, he was appointed Solicitor-General and Cofferer to her Majesty. In the course of the next session he supported the Royal Marriage bill, with a *credit, logic, and countenance*, perfectly peculiar to himself.—In 1773, he shielded the *same* noble Lord, whose character and abilities he had treated with so much *contempt* in his speech, as above faithfully recited, from the envenomed attacks of his adversaries, on account of his conduct respecting the Carib lands in the island of St. Vincent. He was looked upon, during the same session, to be the great support of Lord North, in the carrying through the bill for new modelling the East-India Company.—In fine, he supported Administration through *thick and thin*, in every measure, but on the motion for rescinding the resolution on the Middlesex election; on that occasion his firmness, modesty, and independent spirit, have been rendered most specially conspicuous, inasmuch as that he has either absented himself on that day, or has actually divided *against* the Minister.

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This part of our task draws nearly to an end ; and were it not to shew the diffidence of the man, and the doubt, nay the actual disbelief and non-reliance he had on his own predictions, we should never have thought of mentioning the following curious fact, or the consequences of which it was productive.

On the 9th of March, 1774, Lord North having in a Committee of the whole House moved several resolutions, declarative of the supreme right the Legislature of Great Britain have to bind America in all cases whatever, Mr. Solicitor rose, and, in a speech of upwards of an hour long, spoke in defence of the resolutions at large ; and, as the first step, recommended some law, which would effectually punish the actors and authors of the late riot at Boston. Those resolutions, on the report, were severally agreed to, and produced the Boston Port, Administration of Justice, Charter, Quebec, Prohibitory, Fishery, and Capture bills ; which several bills produced the present civil war ; and which civil war has certainly most fully and literally fulfilled

Mr. Wedderburne's prediction of the 9th of May, 1770, that "the American Colonies would, in the reign of George the *Third*, be *dissevered* from the British empire."

Mr. Solicitor-General, it must be confessed, is a correct, methodical, plausible speaker. His matter is always judiciously selected, and well arranged. It has the *air* of logical justness and argumentative precision. He never rambles from his subject, from a want or redundancy of matter. His oratory is usually chaste, his pronounciation distinct, his emphasis well placed, and his voice well managed. He is fond of detail, and conveys it to his auditors in a clear, unembarrassed, comprehensive manner. His language, though sometimes stiff, and approaching to that of the law-pendant, is always nervous, technical and pointed; and he has one advantage over almost every man in either House, which is, though his speeches bear the appearance of uncommon industry and great art, yet he speaks with so much fluency, avoiding the extremes of a rapid utterance, or of hesitation and absence of mind, that every thing he offers seems to flow
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from a knowledge of the subject, well digested, and leading directly to the clearest principles of self-conviction and self-approbation. With all this high cultivation, the joint effect of a good deal of judgment and immense labour, the soil which he has thus so studiously fought to improve, is far from being naturally fertile. His talents are restrained within narrow bounds,—we mean, in point of native oratory. He never reaches the heart; nor makes a single profelyte to his opinions through that channel, like several other of his cotemporaries we could mention. His logic is strongly tinctured with sophism; and his arguments, like several others, not occupying responsible offices, thick-sown with confident assertions, confident predictions, and confident promises, never meant to be fulfilled, but merely to answer the temporary purposes of debate.

To those who know him, this sketch of his parliamentary abilities will be perfectly intelligible; to such as do not, it would take up more of our time than we think the subject deserving of. Let it at the same time be perfectly understood, that there is no man in England,

land, in or out of parliament, better formed by nature, education, inclination, and habit, to lead at his pleasure men of a certain size of understanding ; men who reason superficially, who have not talents to distinguish the substance from the shadow, who are caught by the trammels and outward garb of truth and reason, but have not strength of intellect to discern essences: with *such men*, his speeches on the motion made against Lord Clive ; on the Quebec, Prohibitory, and Capture bills ; and on the propriety of sending his Majesty's Electoral troops to garrison Minorca and Gibraltar, without the consent of Parliament, or a necessity pretended or stated, will pass as *proofs* of his powers as an orator, his depth and strength of reasoning as a logician, his abilities as an advocate, and his very extensive knowledge as an accomplished senator.

MR. CHARLES FOX.

HAVING had the curiosity to inspect this young gentleman's parish register, we find, that he was born in the month of March, 1749; and, consequently, that he united in his own person talents and circumstances unparalleled in the annals of Parliament, or the strange vicissitudes of state intrigue: for he was appointed a Lord of the Admiralty; resigned in disgust; was a second time appointed, and was afterwards removed to the Treasury Board, whence he was dismissed some few weeks before he completed the 25th year of his age, namely, on the 17th or 18th of February, 1774. Two other circumstances strongly mark his political career: before he was twenty-four years old, he was by much the most able support the Minister had in the course of a whole session, and within a year after, one of his most powerful and dangerous antagonists.

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The political history of this extraordinary young orator furnishes very few things worthy of notice. His conduct, as long as he remained in office, was that of the most violent and unreserved courtier. He not only discharged his duty as a *mere* placeman, called upon by his situation to defend the measures of Administration, to cover their blunders, to urge their propriety, to predict the salutary consequences that must flow from them, and the whole science of *augmenting* and *diminishing* at pleasure ; but he caught the decisive tone of a violent partisan, in a kind of state of war and open hostility against every man who dared to differ from him, or question the ministerial *infallibility* of his leader * and financial creator.

His parliamentary operations, in this line, were chiefly directed against Mr. Burke, and a few other leaders in opposition. This part of his task he performed with remarkable punctuality and alacrity, and with no small degree of

* He was appointed a Commissioner of the Treasury, through the interest of Lord North, in the room of Charles Jenkinson.

of success.—Some detached part of Mr. Burke's speech, not perhaps at all essential to the main subject of debate, was *misquoted* or *misrepresented*; the fallacy or absurdity of its pretended contents was pointed out and animadverted upon; and the whole thrown into a ridiculous light; a laugh was created in every ministerial corner of the House; the Treasury Bench was set in a roar, and Charles smacked the clerk's table with his hand, and moulded his feathered hat into ten thousand different forms. Burke's fine speeches were thus cut up; Charles was applauded; and every *tool* of Administration, from his Lordship down to Robinson, Eden, and Brummel *at the door*, or in the gallery, loudly proclaimed victory.—This office is now occupied by his particular friend and *worthy* associate. *

There were two other gentlemen on whom he bestowed a great deal of attention in the same way. They at length perceived their folly, and the justice of his ridicule so much, that † one of them changed places with him,

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* Mr. Thurlot, Attorney-General. † Mr. Cornwell.

and the * other accepted of a white wand, as a public testimony of his *conversion*.

In the midst of victory, flushed with success, and running at the rate of fourteen knots an hour, with every sail set, and in the warmest expectation of at least procuring at a short day the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, his friend and patron † having frequently *assured* him, in confidence, that he wished to divide the fame, profits, and labour of conducting public affairs with him; our hero, like a certain well-known ambitious young man of Ovidian memory, was thrown from the box, as *he* says, by the baseness and treachery of the first coachman.

To drop all allegory, terrene or marine, the following trifling matter was what produced the sad catastrophe! The Speaker, a few days before, having put the question on a petition against an inclosing bill, a letter, said to have been written by the celebrated Parson Horne, appeared three or four days after in a morning paper.

* Sir William Meredith.

† Lord North.

paper. The letter was conceived in very coarse terms, and betrayed an ignorance of both the usages of the House, of the truth of the transaction, and indeed of every rule of decency.—A complaint was accordingly made by a Member, * of the unjustifiable liberties that had been taken with Sir Fletcher Norton, of the injustice of the charge, and the necessity there was for bringing the author or authors to the most exemplary punishment. The printer was ordered to attend: he complied with the order, and gave up his author, the Parson. What happened on that occasion is recent in every body's memory; it is now enough to observe, that the charge not being brought home to Mr. Horne, the displeasure of the House fell on the printer.

Mr. Fox either misunderstanding the previous instructions given him that morning by the Minister, or the Minister forgetting them, or *chusing* to forget them; the former insisted, that the printer should be committed to Newgate, while the latter moved, that he should be committed to the Gatehouse. At length the question

* Mr. Herbert, Member for Wilton.

question on Col. Herbert's original motion being put, for "committing the printer to the custody of the Serjeant at Arms;" it was carried by a great majority.

This unexpected defection of the Minister and his faithful coadjutor bore, it is true, a very awkward appearance. Charles and his patron recriminated on each other: Charles said he would have carried his concerted motion, if the Minister had not deserted and *betrayed* him; the latter as strenuously insisted, that he must have prevailed, if the other had not distracted and divided the friends of Administration. Be that as it may, it was necessary that the blame should be laid *somewhere*, in order to mitigate the displeasure of the Junta; it was all therefore laid on our hero's shoulders, in the following concise but comprehensive manner:—The next day but one, Charles and his noble patron were sitting on the Treasury Bench: after chatting of indifferent matters, particularly of the business of the day coming on, and what passed the preceding day at the Treasury Board, which inter-

vened.

tervened between the night the difference of opinion arose and the transaction here related, Pearson, * or his substitute, threw a sign, which Charles understanding, went to the door, where he received a billet, couched in the following laconic terms :—" His Majesty has thought proper to order a new Commission of the Treasury to be made out, in which I do not perceive your name.

N O R T H."

From that very hour to the present he has been as violent in opposition, as he was before for the Court. Luckily however for him, in point of consistency, during the busy scene he acted in, and the very conspicuous part he took, the affairs of America never came under formal or solemn discussion. In about a fortnight or three weeks after he commenced patriot, Colonel Jennings, as has been before observed, as it were compelled the Minister to take the state of that country into consideration ; the first decided part Charles took therefore in that business, was against Administration. The ground he has taken is pretty nearly

* The Door-keeper of the House of Commons.

nearly the same as Lord Camden's in the other House; with this additional circumstance, that besides arraigning the injustice, cruelty, impolicy, and impracticability of succeeding in an attempt to subdue America, or compel its inhabitants to consent to the terms of unconditional submission, he has from time to time alternately foretold and demonstrated the inefficacy, folly, and madness of the several measures, as they were proposed in Parliament, and the ignorance, temerity, and dangerous designs of their authors, supporters, and defenders.—Besides this general disapprobation of the conduct of those to whom the direction of public affairs has been entrusted, he has very frequently exercised his wit and his speech on the Minister; sometimes charging him with indolence and inability; at others with incapacity, duplicity, and the most ill-founded affectation of candour and independency: again with being the real author of the present civil war in America, by refusing to repeal the whole of the Port duties; or lastly supposing (which was what he said his Lordship sometimes affects to insinuate, and wishes his friends to insinuate for him) that he

disapproves

disapproves of the measures he supports himself in Parliament, his conduct is still the more reprehensible, because in one event he can be supposed to act wrong through prejudice or incapacity *only*, whereas in the other he must be *guilty* from a premeditated perversion of his understanding.

Mr. Fox is certainly one of the first native orators in the House, but he is extremely negligent. His discourses are frequently finished pieces of argumentation, abounding in the best pointed observations, and the justest conclusions ; and supported by a weight of reasoning, a manly boldness and energy of expression, almost unequalled ; and never, within the course of our knowledge or experience, surpassed. His extemporary speeches on facts, arguments, and details, not immediately arising nor connected with the proper subject of debate, at least not foreseen, are truly admirable. They bear every appearance of the most studied and laboured harangues, in every thing but the delivery, which, however rapid, is not able to keep pace with the crowded conceptions of the speaker. His ideas are inexhaustible,

haughty, and are ever ready at his command; but even if this were all, we could account for it easily; but we must listen in silent astonishment, when we observe him rise upon some sudden unexpected incident, and discuss perhaps a deep intricate subject for an hour, with an ability, perspicuity, and precision, that would induce such as are unacquainted with his habits, or are ignorant of his talents, to be persuaded that he came to the House previously prepared and informed, in order to deliver his opinion. With these almost unrivalled gifts which Nature has bestowed, Mr. Fox is far from being a pleasing or persuasive orator. His utterance is rapid, disagreeable, and sometimes scarcely intelligible. He speaks always as if he was in a passion, and the arguments of passionate people do not come well recommended. He sometimes descends to personal attacks, to anecdotes and puerilities, much beneath the dignity of a British Senator, particularly a man of his consummate talents. Another circumstance, which takes away from the weight and consequence of what he urges in debate, is, that his patriotism is *presumed* to have

have originated in pique, and to have taken a taint of personal rancour and personal persecution towards the noble Lord at the head of the Treasury, on account of what he deemed a mixture of treachery and mean revenge, in procuring his dismissal from the Treasury Board.—On the whole, with all Mr. Fox's superior advantages, we do not esteem him as rendering his party any very essential service, though we must allow he would be a valuable acquisition to his old friends, who would probably receive him like the prodigal son, were it not for the powerful obstacle which stands in the way, the irreconcilable *personal* difference which subsists between him and the Minister.

L O R D S U F F O L K .

HIS Lordship was little known in the political world till he went into opposition, under the guidance and patronage of the late Mr. George Grenville. In the year 1770, in particular, he was one of the most violent partisans against the measure of expulsion and incapacitation of Mr. Wilkes, in relation to the affair of the Middlesex election. Some of the severest speeches made against the *Court system*, then carrying, or supposed to have been carrying on, were made by his Lordship on the following several motions: For the account of the expenditure of the Civil List—"That the House of Commons is bound in matters of election by the law of the land"—On American affairs—Lord Chatham's bill for reversing the adjudication against John Wilkes, Esq; on the Middlesex election—On Lord Chatham's motion, relative to his Majesty's answer to the City Remonstrance—and, finally, the same noble Lord's motion for an Address to his Majesty,

jeſty, praying that he would be graciously pleaſed to *difſolve* the Parliament.

On ſome of thoſe queſtions his Lordſhip rendered himſelf *remarkably* conſpicious; and was one of the forty-one proteſting Lords, who pledged themſelves to each other, and to the public at large, on the motion of the 2d of February, in the following words: “ We do hereby ſolemnly declare and pledge ourſelves to the public, that we will *perſevere* in availing ourſelves, as far as in us lies, of every right and every power, with which the conſtitution has armed us, for the good of the whole, in order to obtain full relief for the injured electors of Great-Britain, and full ſecurity for the future againſt this moſt dangerous uſurpation upon the rights of the people, which, by *ſapping* the fundamental principles of this Government, *threatens* its *total* diſſolution.”

In the following November Mr. Grenville died; and on the 22d of the ſucceeding January, about two months after the deceaſe of his political Chiron, (though, it is ſaid, the bargain

bargain was struck up before he was cold) his Lordship was appointed Keeper of the Privy Seal, in the room of the Earl of Hallifax, appointed one of the Secretaries of State. The June following the Earl of Hallifax dying, he succeeded him in the office of Secretary of State for the Northern department; which high post he still occupies, much to his own credit, honour, and emolument; and to the full satisfaction of an indulgent Prince and an *admiring* public!

There are some characters that inspire the biographer with horror, others with veneration and respect; others again with astonishment; and not a few with a certain gaiety of heart, pleasantry, and good humour, easier to be *imagined* than described. We would not give his Lordship the option, because we are compelled to be merry, gay, and sprightly, whenever we *recollect* that he occupies a *responsible* cabinet appointment, in which the most *extensive talents*, and the best-informed understanding, are *required*.

As his Lordship, while he remained in opposition, declared the utmost contempt and abhorrence for the last Parliament, and supported, with all his abilities, a motion for its *dissolution*; an opportunity at length arrived, which furnished the means of gratifying himself more effectually than shewing his resentment against it in mere words. He avowed openly in Parliament, on Lord Chatham's motion in January 1775, for withdrawing the troops from Boston, that he was the *principal* adviser of the Parliament's immature dissolution. It is true, his *modesty* was so great, that he did not claim the merit of this act of political *justice*, as urged to it on *principle*; but barely informed the House, that he advised the measure solely to prevent the bad effects which a *popular* election might produce, on the natural demise of the former Parliament, were it permitted to live six months longer.

His Lordship's official career is not marked with many shining proofs of the able statesman: the only treaties of his making, which have yet reached the light, are those entered into with his Majesty, as Elector of Hanover, and with
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the Landgrave of Hesse, Duke of Brunswick, and the Princes of Hanau and Waldeck, for bodies of troops to be employed in America against the Provincials there in arms. We do not wish to say a syllable concerning the justice or expediency of the American war; nor *much* as to the mere ministerial manufacture of the treaties. The double subsidy might have originated in a spirit of *true* national œconomy. Each company being *double* officered might have arisen from motives of military *forefight*, on account of the great difficulty of recruiting *commissioned* officers. A double staff, including an *executioner*, might likewise have been a prudent precaution. Paying for soldiers killed, paying afterwards for recruiting them, and letting the *dead* mens pay *augment* the military chest, might be a very proper proof to exhibit to every *carcase-butcher* in Germany, of the profound *wisdom* and *extensive* generosity of an English Administration, and an English Parliament. We do not pretend to decide one way or the other on any of these knotty points, these state arcana; and though we should, we dare not condemn the conduct of the noble Lord, *because* he might exculpate himself

himself by this compendious answer: "That he was *commanded*; and that all his *merit* or *demerit* in the course of the whole negotiation, till its final completion, consisted entirely in a punctual, passive obedience to the orders he received."—We should be gladly contented with this apology, so far as the views of his Lordship's Royal Master and his employers were concerned, or where the approbation and emolument of the mercenaries were to be courted. But when none of those objects were likely to be attained, but both parties to be displeased and disgusted, we confess we cannot entirely approve of his Lordship's neglect and want of foresight in one particular, namely, in not giving General Howe his rank *earlier*, which would have prevented us from being driven to the disagreeable alternative of either permitting a foreigner to *command* our troops in America, or superseding the rank of the Hessian Lieutenant-General, by putting a young Major-General over his head.—These are the general leading features of his Lordship; and we freely confess, that we never *waded* with more *pain* through any *dull*, uninteresting detail in our life; nor could any other

other consideration, but a faithful discharge of our engagements with the public, have compelled us to so *nauseous* and disgusting a task.

His Lordship's talents as a parliamentary speaker are confessed on all hands to intitle him to the place we have here assigned him. He speaks with great facility. His language is pointed and well chosen; and he gives his harangues a strength of colouring, and infuses into them a warmth and energy of expression, scarcely excelled by any one Lord in the House. He affects a bold explicit manner of declaring his sentiments; and never fails to accompany it with an earnestness and personal responsibility, bearing the strongest appearance of self-conviction. His voice and manner are rather pleasing; and by blending a certain species of candour and boldness in every thing he says, and in general disclaiming all personal allusion, he is heard with pleasure, and is sure to meet with the approbation of, at least those who vote with him.—His Lordship's speeches, on the other hand, seldom contain any solid matter. If he be well informed in his office, or in the great line of politics in which he is engaged,

gaged, he is certainly one of the best *secret-keepers* we know in Parliament. The strength and power of his oratory consists chiefly in round assertions, or flat contradictions to those of his antagonists, and in exterior and inferior advantages, that are derived from nature, habit, and education, but which are totally independent and unconnected with that species of argument and fair deduction that leads to rational conviction.

LORD SHELBURNE:

THIS Nobleman's character, if drawn at full length, would abound with incidents as curious and extraordinary as any in the tedious muster-roll, which contains the names of the present possessors and competitors for power; but as our professed plan prevents us from pushing our inquiries farther back than the disgraceful treaty entered into by that once truly great man, the present *little* Earl of Chatham, in which he surrendered the *Majesty* of the people of England, in return for a peerage and an irresponsible office, an office however peculiarly well suited to a *Nostrum-monger*, * we find ourselves of course obliged to refer our readers to some of the Atalantis's of the day, for the hackney tales told of the Thane,† Tycho, ‡ Volpone, § and Malagrida §.

To

* Lord Privy Seal—Patents for vending poisonous medicines and nostrums sold at this shop.

† Lord Bute.

‡ The late Lord Holland.

§ Lord Chatham.

§ Lord Shelburne.

LORD SHELBURNE. 123

To those precious repositories, we cheerfully direct the inquisitive, unfledged politician, and proceed to the execution of our task.

We find Lord Shelburne in the Cabinet, as one of Lord Chatham's Secretaries of State, in the spring 1767, when the American Port duties were devised *elsewhere*, but publicly supported by a faithless Chancellor of the Exchequer, * contrary to the sentiments of his colleagues in office. This is the prevailing opinion: he is not forthcoming to answer for himself; but as no man who knew him, entertains a single doubt of his unbounded ambition, his versatility and want of system, charity obliges, and common sense urges us to suppose, that the Duke of Grafton, and the Lords Chatham, Shelburne, and Camden, be their faults what they may in other respects, would hardly have consented to a measure which would at once have emptied them of every pretension to public virtue or political value, if they had not been compelled by a power greater or as great as the King *himself*. Lord Shelburne,

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therefore,

* The late Charles Townshend.

therefore, we may presume, pushed on by this *sovereign irresistible momentum*, gave way, the consequence of which was, that we were presented with that famous law for laying duties on tea, paper, painters colours, and glafs.

The Administration we have just been speaking of, the blackest and the most destructive this nation ever saw, was in its dissolution no less extraordinary than in its formation. It was no sooner embodied than its ruin was determined. The noble Lord * who was at the head of it, lost his senses, as well as his health and popularity. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, † who always hated, envied, and feared him, profited of the glorious opportunity : he sowed, with the most wicked and able malignity, jealousies and animosities, that became impossible to cure or remove. He paid his court alternately in the Closet, and to the House of Bedford ; and when he had rendered every man in the Cabinet hateful to the Public, contemptible at the Council-table, and despicable in Parliament, he then rendered
them

* Lord Chatham.

† The late Charles Townsend.

them hateful and despicable to each other. The last act of his life, more immediately relating to the noble Lord who is the subject of this day, will serve as a specimen of the manner those mere ministerial phantoms, as they passed in succession, were treated and dismissed. In the summer of 1767, the views of France upon Corsica became too apparent to be longer permitted with indifference by an English Administration. Lord Shelburne, as Secretary of State for the Southern department, with the approbation of the other members of the Cabinet, gave instructions to our Minister at the French Court to remonstrate against the measure of making a conquest of Corsica. Choiseul, who knew the imbecillity of those ministerial shadows that then occupied the several responsible offices of the State, treated the remonstrance with the contempt that was natural. The noble Lord * who made it could not endure this situation, and instantly, without leave or notice at either side of the water, returned to England. What was the consequence? The French Ambassador here received the fullest assurances (and from

at

* Lord Rochford.

an authority that could not be questioned) that Lord Shelburne acted entirely on his own head. The remonstrance was disclaimed by the other members of Administration ; his Lordship was dismissed, and the very person who remonstrated appointed Secretary of State.

His Lordship from that instant commenced a violent partisan against the measures of the Court, and on many occasions has proved a very powerful adversary. He joined the Minister in the measure of new modelling the East-India Company, and some other matters of less consequence, which has given rise to several reports of his again returning into office, *under the present Court system.*

This, however, can hardly be credited, unless by those who would wish to represent him as one of the most *weak*, as well as the most *unprincipled* men, that ever appeared upon the public stage.

His opinions delivered in Parliament relative to the unhappy disputes which distract,
divide,

divide, and indeed threaten the destruction, if not total dissolution, of this once glorious and envied empire, materially correspond, or rather seem to be *copied* from those avowed by his patron and confidential friend ; * and here we think it a part of our duty to give the fullest testimony in their favour, and at the same time to submit a short sketch of them to our readers.—His Lordship has uniformly (at least in his parliamentary speeches on the subject) contended for the supreme dominion of this country over all its members and dependencies, as exercised through that true constitutional medium, the executive powers of the state. On this ground he has maintained the prerogative of the Sovereign, respecting the exclusive unconditional right he has to the ordering and directing the military force of the nation, under the dernier controul of Parliament, and the inherent right of the Legislature to enact *certain* laws that shall be binding on all the members of the empire. This general outline will be more fully understood by the following explanation. His Lordship thinks that the Sovereign of Great-Britain

may

* Lord Chatham.

may send or order his troops to America or Ireland, or withdraw them at pleasure ; and that he can no more part with this grand prerogative, notwithstanding any promise, concession, or engagement he may have made, or may hereafter make, than he can with his crown ; and that the Parliament have a right to pass laws for regulating the commerce of Ireland and America, with all the necessary consequences of enforcing them by the establishing Courts of Admiralty, and creating penalties for their due and just observance. On the other hand, he is equally clear, that the Parliament have *no* right to tax *unrepresented* America ; that it is a principle in *this* constitution, that *all* its native subjects are entitled to equal privileges, the most important and leading of which is the granting their own money ; and that the injustice of robbing the colonists of this sacred and invaluable franchise, can only be equalled by the folly, madness, and inexpediency of the attempt.

His Lordship, though a man of strong speculative abilities, was put into offices of great trust much *too early*. His youth and inexperience

rience were not to be balanced by the mere raw efforts of a natural good understanding. A knowledge of *business*, and the *habits* that are acquired by an intimate acquaintance with it, are not to be compensated by any degree of speculative research, however ably or diligently pursued; and we are not backward in declaring this very important truth, that one of the greatest misfortunes of this present reign has been, that *boys* have been made Ministers; and that *closet* arrangements have *superseded* the just pretensions of long experience and official merit. This observation is by no means particularly pointed at the noble Lord, nor, if it were, would it be at present properly applied.

His Lordship's talents as a parliamentary speaker are well known. He abounds in information well worthy the attention of his noble auditory, and of the very Ministers whose measures he opposes. His speeches bear the appearance of having been studied and arranged, previous to their delivery: they are judiciously conceived, sententious and correct; and never fail of impressing his sentiments in the most pointed and perspicuous

manner. His general acquaintance with books, with the political history of Europe, the general interests of commerce, and particularly those of the British empire, are evident proofs of his industry and sound judgment. In fine, he is one of the most useful speakers in the House of Lords, on the part of Opposition; his absence or defection therefore would, at this important crisis, be most severely felt. On the other hand, his Lordship's harangues, though delivered with facility, have too much the appearance of art and study; while his constant appeals to the candour and indulgence of his hearers are evidently merely traps for applause, and by their frequent repetition become tiresome and disgusting.

MR. WELLBORE ELLIS.

THIS gentleman is esteemed one of the most steady, *uniform* courtiers in either House of Parliament, as there has been scarcely an Administration for the last thirty years in this country, in which he has not borne a share, and chearfully parted with his colleagues the instant they *parted* with their power. The first conspicuous part he took since the commencement of the period to which we have limited these inquiries, was in the expulsion of Mr. Wilkes, and the vote of incapacitation which followed in the spring session 1768. It was the great zeal he manifested on that occasion which gave birth to the celebrated observation of that elegant writer, Junius, that “the *mine* was *sunk*, combustibles provided, and Wellbore Ellis, the *Guy Faux* of the fable, waited only for the signal of command.” There was a satirical print published at the time, representing this finely pointed allusion to the conspiracy known by the name of the Gunpowder Plot, in which Mr. Ellis was drawn with

with a *lantern*, setting fire to the *combustibles* prepared for blowing up the constitution; and Lord Bute in the back ground, with a trunchcon in his hand, *giving* the word of *command*. His unwearied and indefatigable zeal in this business made him, if possible, more dear to those who imagined they could not shew their esteem for his Majesty more clearly, than by avenging a personal insult or reflection on his family, at the expence of *overthrowing* the laws in *that* instance, and *sapping* the foundations of this once glorious, happy, and justly envied constitution.

As Mr. Ellis is reputed to be one of the *King's friends*, and presumed likewise to be a favourite at Buckingham-house; and as the term King's friend, in the *sense* here intended to be conveyed, though frequently mentioned, seems not to be so generally understood; and, finally, as the term will often recur in the following political sketches, we think it is in some degree our duty, as far as in our power, to elucidate any obsolete, doubtful, or *technical* phrase we may be necessarily obliged to use.

By

By *King's friends* we do not mean the mere *loyal tools*, who always vote *one* way, on an absurd idea, that *supporting* Administration is an act of personal respect to the Sovereign; that Government and Administration mean the *same* thing; and that distrusting and opposing Ministers, on *any* account, or almost in any event, is an act little short of misprision of treason. No, *such* men, however *mistaken*, act on *principle*; they may be charged with folly, with prejudice, with political blindness: the King's friends we would wish to convey an adequate and faithful description of, lay *no* pretension to *public* confidence or *public* virtue, no personal attachment to the Sovereign, no regard to the constitution. They are selected from men who, having no predilection for any thing under heaven but their own interest, are willing to *do* or *undertake* every thing they are desired. Veterans in office and in Parliament; their abilities are known; their pliability has been frequently tried; and as there is no party with whom they have not acted, nor system of Administration they have not embraced, so there is no measure, howsoever contradictory to their former declared sentiments and opinions,

ons, they are *ashamed* to varnish over, nor set of men they have not betrayed and abandoned.

* They are, says an able writer, distributed with *art* and judgment through the several departments of the state, or in sinecure places : they seldom aim at the high and responsible offices of the kingdom, but occupy places which are only an *excuse* for salary ; yet they possess all the influence of the highest posts, and dictate in almost every thing with a pride of superiority. Whenever they dissent (which is sometimes the case) from their *nominal* leaders, the *trained* part of the Senate, instinctively in the *secret*, is sure to *follow* them, provided the ostensible Minister and his friends, sensible of their *situation*, do not themselves *recede in time* from their most *declared* opinions.

It is hardly conceivable to any one who has not seen it, what pleasure is taken by the authors

* The leaders are said to be the *creatures* of the K—, trained, disciplined, and instructed by the Lords B—e and M——d ; the names of the leaders are likewise supposed to be Lords Clare and Barrington, and Messrs. Ellis, Jenkinson, Stanley, and Sir Gilbert Elliot, *cum multis aliis*.

thors and managers of the *Court system* behind the curtain, in rendering those † heads of office thoroughly contemptible and ridiculous. The places occupied by this respectable corps are removed from the elevated and slippery heights of labour, talents, and responsibility; they are situated in peace and security, and are, in effect, held for life.

Whether Mr. Ellis answers this description or not, we do not pretend to determine; if he or his friends aspire to the honourable appellation, they must take it with *all* its consequences; if they should not, it would ill become us to confer honours, till we are previously assured that they would not be rejected with disdain.

The next *conspicuous* appearance Mr. Ellis made after the affair of the Middlesex election, was in his strenuous endeavours to defeat Mr. Grenville's

† This frequently happened during the last administration of Lord Chatham, and that which succeeded it, under the pretended direction of the Duke of Grafton. Even our present worthy Premier has felt some raps over the knuckles, and but for certain state reasons, would feel them oftener.

Grenville's bill "for regulating the trials of controverted elections for Members to serve in Parliament." After opposing it vehemently in all the precedent stages, he moved on the order to take the report into consideration, that the bill might be put off for *two months*; which motion of postponing to a long day is looked upon equal to an absolute negative. On a division, however, the King's friends, for the first time since their being *embodied* into a regular standing corps, found themselves in a minority; the numbers being 187 to 125, on the question's being put, whether the bill should be engrossed.

This gentleman was very active in the same session (1770) in endeavouring to stifle all inquiry or examination of the *then* state of America: in that and his opposition to the bill brought in by Mr. Herbert for regulating expulsions, he was more successful than in his attempt to defeat Mr. Grenville's bill. Any defeat in this line was thought somewhat extraordinary; the late Lord Holland and he being looked upon as the two leading election-managers in the House of Commons. A
striking

striking allusion to this part of the gentleman's senatorial character was made by a well-known facetious Counsel, on the trying the merits of a Welsh election lately before a Select Committee of the House of Commons. The last decision was much relied on ; the Journals of the House were appealed to ; and the numbers being nearly equal (147 to 143)—Look, says the learned wag, with great composure, at the *tellers*.—What of that ? answered his antagonist. Ah ! my friend, it seems you do not know much of *election* matters ; do not you see *George Grenville* at one side, and *Wellbore Ellis* on the other ? Only *look again*, and observe which of their opinions was favourable to *my* client ; and when you do, I dare say you will not trust much to your boasted decision, unless you mean to *mislead* the present Committee, as the latter honourable gentleman was known for so many years to have misled the House.

That favourite measure of the *Court System*, the Royal marriage bill, was particularly patronized by him. He was called to the chair
of

of the Committee by special appointment; and filled his *office* like a *faithful* servant, sitting up all night during the commitment of the bill, and *scarcely* taking any repose, but constantly attending the private *deliberations* at Buckingham-house each successive morning, till he returned the bill at the bar of the House of Lords with concurrence of the Commons.

His conduct respecting American affairs, since the breaking out of the present troubles, has been uniform, decisive, and steady. He has always declared himself for the supremacy of Parliament, and for receiving *no* concession short of unconditional submission. He spoke very warmly against the Minister's conciliatory proposition of the 20th of February, 1775; and in the course of last session frequently *hinted* at the *supineness* of Administration, their *indecisive* conduct, their *mistaken* lenity; and attributed, in a great measure, all the miscarriages that had hitherto happened to a *want* of firmness, alacrity, and information. To *soften* this *direct* charge against the *puppets* in seeming power, he attributed our disappointments

ments more to wrong information than any thing else, and congratulated the House on the *conversion* of Administration. In fine, he predicted two things: that our arms would in the end prove victorious, perhaps without much bloodshed; but whether or not, they would prove victorious: the inevitable consequence of which would be, the obtaining a revenue towards easing the heavy burdens borne by the people of this country.

Mr. Ellis, as a parliamentary speaker, is certainly very able. He is well acquainted with men and books, practice and speculation. Long trained to business, and the various details of almost every official board, he speaks on every subject connected with them with perspicuity, confidence, and precision. Few persons, if any in the House, either in or out of Administration, can venture to contend with him in this line with any prospect of success. To a sound, native understanding, he has united a close and judicious attention to business; the result of which is, that he is one of the *best* informed men in the House of Commons. His oratory is *not* shining or brilliant, but his
discourses

discourses are all regular, correct, and finished. He delivers himself in the language of a gentleman and a scholar, and with an elegance and conciseness equalled by few, and surpassed scarcely by any. He never fails to close his speeches by proving his arguments on the clearest principles of logical deduction, allowing his facts to be *true*. In fine, he is no less dextrous at *demolishing* the arguments of his opponents, than in raising and judiciously constructing his own.

On the other hand, when *hard pressed*, he suits himself to his situation; and is as ingenious in evading, palliating, explaining away, and straining precedents, as he is at other times persuasive, logical, and convincing. He then learns to magnify trifles, and trace similitudes where there never existed a likeness. He can promise, because he is not *responsible*; he can venture to predict, because he does not *pretend* to inspiration. He may *deny* or *assert*, when the proofs are *not* within reach. On the whole, though he is one of the ablest speakers Administration have to boast of, and much the ablest support they have in the moment of difficulty;
yet

yet he has a certain finicalness in his voice and manner, which is no less fatal to his pretensions to the rank of a first-rate energetic orator, than the *necessity* arising from his political *views*, *emoluments*, and *pursuits*, is often to his arguments, deductions, and abstract definitions.

M R. D U N N I N G.

THIS eminent Lawyer, distinguished Orator, and hitherto steady Patriot, made his first appearance on the public stage during the administration supposed to have been formed, and for some months to have been conducted by the Earl of Chatham. He was appointed Solicitor-General soon after his Lordship's accession into power; and, as long as he remained in office, discharged the duties of it with equal integrity and ability. His talents recommended him to the noble Lord last mentioned, when the first Prince in Europe would have been glad to be honoured with his Lordship's friendship; when the foreign and domestic foes of Britain trembled at the thunder of his voice; when the secret favourers of despotism lay in concealment; and a Government unconnected with the Cabinet, a constitutional Parliament, or the People, had not been, as *yet*, publicly manifested, by a train of the most blundering, oppressive, and tyrannic measures.

The

The time at length arrived, when Mr. Dunning could no longer *endure* his situation. At the commencement of that celebrated session (1770) which will be transmitted to future ages by the expressive and well-suited description of the *Horned Cattle* session, when the minds of all men were occupied respecting the petitions relative to the Middlesex election, and very important consequences were expected to result from the style and manner those petitions would be noticed in the King's Speech, that ministerial performance very gravely recommended to Parliament, to provide the best means of preventing the infection, which might arise from the distemper then lately broke out among the horned cattle, from spreading. *Mortified* to the *quick* at such a *solemn mockery* of every thing that was great and sacred, as soon as a motion was made for introducing an amendment into the Address, in answer to the King's Speech, he arose and apologized to the House. He said, that *nothing* but his ill state of health would have prevented him from giving his opinion in detail upon the present critical state of affairs; but more particularly on that part of the amendment

amendment proposed by his honourable friend,* which proposed to take into the most serious consideration the proceedings in that House, touching its late vote for incapacitating John Wilkes, Esq. He said he could not content himself with a *silent* vote, nor sit down without assigning his two leading reasons for voting for the amendment. One was, that a general uneasiness and discontent had gone forth among the people; the other, because he thought the words of the amendment would be some mark to the public, that the national grievances *would*, as they *ought*, come under the consideration of Parliament.

As a man of spirit, as well as principle, he immediately resigned; but offered very generously to discharged the duties of his office, till another fit person should be pitched upon to succeed him. In this situation, during the several great changes which happened in the course of nine or ten weeks, particularly the resignation of the Duke of Grafton, and the appointment of Lord North in his room, he remained inflexible, though often in the interim
pressed

* Mr. Dowdeswell.

pressed to resume his post. At length, all attempts to bring him back to his former situation proving fruitless, our present *worthy, conscientious, disinterested* Attorney-General was appointed Solicitor in his place.

From that time to the present, Mr. Dunning has continued in opposition, and has been felt by Administration as a most *powerful, weighty, and galling* antagonist. To point out the particulars, would in fact be to give a history of almost every leading question agitated in Parliament for the last six years. We cannot, however, pass by that part of his parliamentary conduct in silence, which relates to America, without relinquishing the general motives which first induced us to commence and prosecute the present undertaking, that of *marking*, by the event of the unnatural civil war now raging in America, the comparative wisdom, public virtue, and political value, not only of the *two* parties which at present divide this nation, but likewise the several leading *individuals* of which each is composed.

H

The

The first question relative to America, which Mr. Dunning distinguished himself particularly in, was the celebrated Quebec bill. In the course of that struggle between constitutional freedom and arbitrary power, though he had the whole phalanx of professional * mercenaries, as well as the weight of the Treasury Bench, and all their immediate associates and dependents, to *contend* with, he proved two positions, too evident to be evaded, and too clear to admit of a minute's serious controversy or impartial discussion. He *proved* that the constitution intended to be given to the people of Canada by the bill was essentially the *same* in form, and *more* liable to *abuse*, than the one they enjoyed under the Crown of France; and that the ecclesiastical *establishment* granted to them under the idea of a mere *liberty of conscience*, or a *permission* for the free exercise of their religion, was *intended* to *cheat* them out of their *civil liberty*, as British subjects. It was intended, he said, to operate two ways; first,

* Thurloe, Wedderburne, Sir George Hay, and a swarm of partial witnesses.

first, for the purpose of establishing *arbitrary power* in that *vast* extent of country, comprised within the limits described in the bill ; and, secondly, to *employ that power*, thus *modified* and rendered *obedient* to the *will* of the *possessor*, in the overthrow of the liberties of America.

He has ever since strictly *adhered* to the same line of conduct. He does not barely confine himself in detecting the blunders of Administration ; his opposition has been general ; and if truth, and the most able and intimate knowledge of the laws and constitution of his country, were to decide uniformly in St. Stephen's Chapel, we may venture to affirm, without any imputation of partiality, that he would frequently prove victorious, and vote in a majority. He exhibited frequent proofs in the course of the last session, and indeed in the two preceding, of his early fathoming the intentions of Administration. He predicted the consequences of the proposed Parliamentary Address to his Majesty in January 1775, declaring and offering to support

his Majesty with their lives and fortunes. He was no less sagacious and penetrating in the Court doctrines meant to be *established*, and drawn hereafter into *precedent*, relative to the introduction of foreign troops into any part of the dominions of the British Crown, without the previous consent of Parliament. The apparent tendency of the Militia bill soon attracted his notice; and he descried in the earliest stages of the Capture act (long before the new * Secretary's entrance into power had totally altered the parliamentary language of the *offensible* † Minister) the *determined resolution* of its *secret* devisers and professed conductors to *force* America into open rebellion, to gratify *somebody*, and *verify* their own repeated *predictions*; as it must follow, that the Colonists, finding themselves reduced to the alternative of submitting like *slaves*, or being doomed to inevitable destruction, would declare themselves independent, as the first step to the procuring of foreign assistance.

This will, we presume, convey some tolerable idea of the political opinions and public conduct

* Lord George Germain.

† Lord North.

conduct of Mr. Dunning during the last six years; and will likewise serve to shew, hereafter, whether he *be*, or *be not*, as good a speculative statesman, as he has been long known to be a great lawyer and able orator. We would wish not to consider him particularly under the latter description, because we are conscious of our own inability to do him justice, and at the same time to meet the approbation of either his friends or adversaries. Were we asked, Is Mansfield more acute, discerning, or pointed? is Camden more penetrating, logical, or ingenious? is Burke more flowing, comprehensive, well informed, or sarcastically witty?—we should certainly answer, *not*. Is Thurlow as sound a lawyer, or Wedderburne as able an advocate?—we should still reply in the negative. But, again, if we were asked, Is Mr. Dunning, in his *present state of health*, as good an orator as any of those?—truth would compel us to say, he is not. His discourses, it is true, might cut as respectable a figure in print: but his unmarked emphasis at the best of times; his nice distinctions, divisions, and subdivisions; his frittering his subject instead of serving it up in whole pieces;
his

his repetitions of the substance, though not the words; the failure of his voice; and, *ferry* we are to add, the constant effort which nature makes to relieve him, by a cough, all combine to throw him at a considerable distance behind.

L O R D S A N D W I C H.

THIS nobleman, after having undergone his purgation for the offences supposed to have been committed against a certain unpopular favourite,* recommended himself by his *imputed* sufferings from the Rockingham party, as well as his domestic distresses, to the commiseration of a relenting and forgiving Junto. † They knew his value; they recollected his provocations; they foresaw the *uses* to which he might be successfully employed; they were well aware, that if they went to market, the purchase would be all their own, without any condition or limitation whatever. The Junto wanted an able and *willing* servant for their Royal director; and his Lordship wanted a gracious and generous master. In such a concurrence of good-will and inclination on both sides, what might not be reasonably expected? The first favourable opportunity therefore
which.

* Lord Bute.

† The letters signed Anti-Sejaas were supposed to have been written under his Lordship's direction.

which happened after the admission of the Bedford party into power in 1767, Lord Sandwich was appointed Postmaster-General. Here he remained like his predecessor * in a kind of ministerial probation, till a vacancy in the Cabinet should happen; and there he might have remained ever since, if the scruples and fears of a certain noble Viscount † had not given his Lordship's friends an opportunity of calling him into Cabinet. On his last-mentioned noble friend's resignation of the seals, towards the close of the year 1770, he was appointed Secretary of State for the Northern department, in the room of Lord Rochford, who succeeded Lord Weymouth in the Southern. He did not remain long in this situation; for an honest tar, ‡ who then presided at the Admiralty Board, finding himself rendered a cypher through the overbearing mandates of a Junto, and the treachery of his brethren in the *mock* or *ostensible* Cabinet, on one hand; and perceiving, on the other, that he had been grossly deceived and imposed on by his Survey-
or,

* Lord Hillsborough.

† Lord Weymouth.

‡ Sir Edward, now Lord Hawke.

or, * resigned in a fit of chagrin and disgust, which made way for our hero, who was appointed First Commissioner of the Admiralty, very early in the spring 1771.

The conduct and language held in both Houses of Parliament on this occasion was to the last degree curious and entertaining: it proved beyond question what Ministers were *capable of saying*; what the King's friends were *capable of enacting*; what the *High Priest* and his immediate associates and assistants were capable of commanding; and what the *spiritless, deluded, degenerate* people of this country were capable of enduring, without even a groan.

The dispute with the Court of Spain, relative to Falkland's Island, having compelled us to arm, and it being found expedient in the first instance to send out two squadrons, one to the Mediterranean, in order to cover Gibraltar and Minorca, and the other to the West-Indies, for the protection of our sugar islands and commerce in that quarter of the globe,

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* Sir Thomas Slade, Surveyor of the Navy.

It was found that our navy was in the most ruinous and alarming condition; that several of the ships were rotten and totally unfit for service; that few of them were fit for sea at a short notice; and that there was a total deficiency of almost every kind of store or material, either for fitting out, repairing, or rebuilding. Whether this evil was discovered in its full extent, at the commencement of those naval preparations, we do not pretend to affirm; certain it is, however, that on the celebrated 10th of December, 1770, the day the breach arose between the two Houses relative to a noble Lord's * moving to have the House cleared while a noble Duke † was making a motion, shewing the defenceless state of the fortress of Gibraltar, it came out that our navy was in a very useless and ruinous condition, which gave an opportunity to the noble Lord who is the subject of these observations to confess it; and he even used it as an argument at that time to prove how very unequal we were to go to war, unless actually compelled to it; and defended the convention afterwards

* Lord Gower.

† Duke of Richmond.

terwards entered into with the Court of Spain on the same ground. The King's friends were obliged to conduct themselves totally on a different plan. The Commons were called on to grant an additional shilling on their lands. Sir Edward Hawke was to be dismissed. It would not be *decent* to dismiss him, while he continued to be defended by Administration in *both* Houses; nor would it bear a very handsome appearance to call upon the people to grant half a million of money to repair those injuries which the navy had suffered by the mismanagement and neglect of Administration, without at the same time proposing a public inquiry to lay a foundation for censure or punishment, in proportion to the magnitude or nature of the offence. In such a dilemma how did the Junta act? By their substitutes in both Houses. In the House of Lords, Lord Sandwich, and some other leading Members in Administration, *confessed* the charge in its fullest extent; it answered them in argument; and perhaps our hero, to some *other* purposes. In the House of Commons the Members were to be *soothed*, appearances were at least to be kept up: the King's friends therefore scouted any idea which contradicted

contradicted those who affirmed that the British navy was in the most respectable and formidable condition. They *prevailed* upon the First Commissioner himself to rise and bear testimony to the *truth* of their assertions. What was the consequence of all this juggle, cabal, ministerial art, and parliamentary contradiction? Sir Edward Hawke, who had *answered* the *last* purpose the Junto wished to effect through his means, that of *assuring* the House of Commons of the *prosperous* state of the British navy, was dismissed during the Christmas recess. This made way for our noble Lord, as we take the liberty, for distinction sake, to call him. His Lordship was appointed First Commissioner of the Admiralty on the 12th of January, 1771; and the Surveyor, by whom it was then confidently reported Sir Edward was misled, *died suddenly* a few days after Cha. Yorke, and some said of the *same* disorder, the *rupture* of a blood-vessel.

As we would wish to clear the ground as we proceed, and not report naked occurrences without

out pointing to the causes, when those causes become *obvious*, we beg leave to remind our readers, that *our* Lord had done away all his former transgressions, and *knit* himself closer to the Junto than ever, by the very *distinguished* part he took in the House of Lords, during the spring session 1770, in relation to the Middlesex election, particularly by that *celebrated* speech made in his *closet*, printed, and disseminated by *previous* agreement, and *said* to be spoken on the 2d of February, on Lord Rockingham's motion, "that the House of Commons, in the exercise of its judicature in matters of election, is bound to judge according to the law of the land, and the known and established law and custom of Parliament, which is part thereof." He was then at the Post-office, in a state somewhat resembling a deserving naval veteran of rank and meritorious service appointed Governor of Greenwich, happy in retirement, yet ready to come forward when an opportunity of serving his country in a more elevated and efficient situation should call him forth.

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From his taking his seat at the Board, at which he at present presides, till the commencement of the present troubles in America, we know very little of his Lordship, in either his official, cabinet, or parliamentary capacity, worth recording, more than what might be included within this *compendious* description, that he *supported* Administration; that is, in plain English, he did not commit an act of political suicide on his own precious person. It is true, the House of Commons were divided into two parties, respecting his conduct and abilities. His adversaries contended, that there was never known in this country so high or burthenome a naval peace establishment, by 4000 men, supported at an expence of 200,000*l. per annum*; that half a million, and other great and extraordinary grants, had been made on his Lordship's entrance into office; that besides these naval grants made at that time, the articles of extraordinaries, wear and tear, repairs, buildings and rebuildings, exceeded any thing ever known within the same period; that, added to this, a heavy navy debt was still incurring; that the navy, with all this monstrous and unprecedented expence, was far from being in the respectable

respectable condition it was represented; and at all events, if what his Lordship's blazoners and defenders said was strictly just, then the House of Commons was deceived by Administration: for how was it possible, if what Ministers asserted respecting the flourishing state of the navy on the threatened rupture with Spain were true, that the nation should be put to the annual extraordinary expence of at least a million, in buildings, rebuildings, and purchase of timber and all kinds of stores? —His friends, particularly the Minister, (who nevertheless complained loudly of the expence) said, that the navy, it is true, when his Lordship came into office, was in a ruinous state; yet Ministers had not misled or misinformed the House, for the ships built of green timber in the height of the late war rotted imperceptibly, and were obliged to be broken up for other uses, or sold. That the noble Lord who now presides at the Board, perceiving the necessity of putting our navy on a respectable footing, had laid in vast stocks of seasoned timber not subject to decay, and a proportionable quantity of all kinds of naval stores; the consequence of which would be, that late in 1774,

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or early in 1775, we should have in our different docks as guardships, and at sea, above eighty men of war of the line fit for actual service; and upwards of twenty of them manned and ready for sea at a few hours notice. Which of those accounts may be *nearer* the truth (for we have hardly a doubt that they are both exaggerated) we will not pretend to determine.

We will now proceed from narration and opinion to knowledge and fact; we mean so far as the same relates to the supposed justice and propriety of the American war, and his Lordship's conduct, as a *Minister*, a *Senator*, and an *official* man.

His Lordship has been all along one of the warmest advocates for the unmodified claim of supremacy of this country over America, on the alternative of *absolute conquest*, as against an alien enemy on our side, and *unconditional* submission on theirs. His arguments are built entirely on the same foundation with those of Lord Mansfield. The right of taxation, he contends, is in the British Legislature;

ture; and though we were willing to relax or concede, America is *not*; therefore we must assert that right, or *for ever* relinquish it. On the point of expediency, his Lordship is, if possible, more express and explicit. He has engaged not only for the pacific and friendly dispositions of the Courts of Versailles and Madrid, as often as any fears for the event of their conduct have been suggested, but he has done more; he has engaged and pledged himself repeatedly to Parliament and the public, for the *cowardly* dispositions of every British subject of American birth, from Hudson's Bay to St. Augustine. He has compared them (we have heard his Lordship with our own ears) to the cowardly Asiatics, defeated by a certain deceased noble Lord, * whom he distinguished by the well-known appellation of the *Heaven-born* General; and added *emphatically*, in answer to something urged by his opponents in debate, respecting their numbers, that the more *numerous* they were the *better*; it would give him pleasure to hear that the rebels consisted of an *hundred* thousand instead of *ten*; for in that event, as in Asia, and wherever else

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* Lord Clive.

a regular disciplined force were to contend with a mob, particularly a mob *composed* of *cowards*, *braggards*, and *poltroons*, success would be more *certain*, and would be bought on *cheaper* and *easier* terms: *one* victory would answer every purpose of a *dozen*, and the flame of rebellion would be *sooner* extinguished, and with *less* trouble and bloodshed.

In his Lordship's official character, we are sorry to say he did not act with his *usual* candour; and it is with some degree of reluctance that we find ourselves compelled, by our professed love of truth and impartiality, to differ from so high and respectable an authority on *any* point.

During the spring session 1775, 4000 additional seamen being proposed and agreed to in the House of Commons, on a debate in the House of Lords on Lord Chatam's Conciliatory bill, two points were much insisted on by the Members in opposition; one of them, that 22,000 seamen, including 5000 marines, would *not* be sufficient for carrying on the intended naval operations in America; the other, that

that supposing they should, we must inevitably leave our coast at home *defenceless*, and the *few* ships left to guard us *unmanned*.—To the latter of these objections his Lordship answered, that eighteen guardships would remain at home ready to proceed to sea at a day's notice, which would be *superior* to any fleet the combined force of France and Spain could send to sea without our having a long previous knowledge of it; and he assured their Lordships (this was in debate) and the public, that a force should be sent to America that would answer *every end* of *annoying* our enemies, and of *protecting* our commerce.

This is a matter of fact; issue has been joined, and his Lordship has been *convicted* of promising more than he was able to perform. Our military stores of all kinds were *taken* for want of a sufficient force being sent to America, either to *protect* ourselves or *annoy* our enemies.

But if we had no stronger inducement than barely to recall to our readers what every body knows, and what many have cause to lament,

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we should hardly have brought on this subject, seemingly in this unseasonable manner. But a motive of the first magnitude, of the most pressing importance, has rendered it necessary in order to shew what Ministers employed by a Junto *dare* do, and what P——s are too, that can *basely* bend to such a state of *servility*. On the first day of the last session, his Lordship being reminded of his engagements the preceding spring, replied, that it was very true, he *knew* that the number of seamen voted would *not* * be sufficient; but he *knew* likewise, that if he asked for a *greater* number,

* Lords Protest, 27th October, 1775, alludes to the above fact.—They say, “Nor can we impute the misconduct of Ministers to mere inability, or to their ignorance of the state of America, upon which they attempt to justify themselves; for while some members of Administration confess they were deceived as to the strength and condition of the provinces, we have from others official information, that the insufficiency of the navy was concealed from Parliament, and part of Administration, from a fear of not receiving support from its members.”—Signed Torrington, Fitzwilliam, Archer, Thanet, Cholmondeley, King, Portland, Stamford, Ponsonby, Abingdon, Manchester, Devonshire, Chedworth, Boyle, Craven, Scarborough, Effingham, Rockingham, Richmond.

number, it would have been strongly opposed, at least, if not flatly refused.

His Lordship is undoubtedly a man of talents, and well acquainted with business; but whether he is equal to the very important post he now occupies, is more than we dare venture to decide on. He is certainly, from his *ignorance* of naval affairs, extremely liable to be imposed on; and of course he may be led into error, in proportion, strange as it may appear, to the *goodness* of his heart, and the soundness of his understanding. His Lordship's talents, in other respects, are confessed. He is certainly a great Statesman. If report be not a liar, he convinced the late Lord Chesterfield, that he could out-do him even in his own way; and shewed the Lords Bute and Holland, and the celebrated George Grenville, of plodding memory, that honesty and quick parts were an overmatch for mere cunning and a knowledge of Cocker's Arithmetic. Be that as it may, Lord Sandwich is now a noun-substantive, or if there be a question who supports

ports him, and has for some years ? it can only be solved at Buckingham-house.

As a parliamentary speaker, Lord Sandwich certainly stands very *low* on the list ; and it is only on account of his political value in other respects, that we have brought him forward thus early. His discourses are awkward, loose, and detached. He generally stands with his hands in his pockets, or as if in the very act of driving a flock of geese, or forcing them into the end of a narrow lane. His speeches are stories, or short replies to what is offered on the other side, consisting chiefly of contradictions. In the midst of his gravest arguments, he lets fall some expression which throws the House in a roar, and seems little solicitous whether it be at the expence of himself, or his antagonists. On the whole, if Lord Sandwich were not a man of *business*, of *talents*, and *parliamentary knowledge*, the House in which he sits would never have been persuaded to *endure* him as an *orator*.—It is only
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for uniformity sake that we have touched upon this part of his Lordship's character, since we did not think it worthy of being treated more in detail.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND.

TO bring his Grace forward as a public man, it will be necessary to make a trifling deviation from the rule we have hitherto adhered to and mean in future to follow, when not compelled to a breach of it, as on the present occasion. The rule we here advert to is, not to push our political researches farther back than the month of August, 1766, when that great orator, able politician, and consummate statesman, Mr. Pitt, in a fit of *vanity* and *frenzy* mixed, or by an act of *cool premeditated treachery*, bartered himself, and every thing which ought to be held dear by Englishmen, for the Earldom of Chatham, and a fat irresponsible office. As we have often alluded to this shameful barter in terms of reproach and lamentation; and as some persons may think we have laid too great a stress on it, and say, that it could amount to no more than the political defection of *one* man, we beg leave, once for all, to add this short explanation; that it is not the act we now have cause to
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lament, but its fatal effects. His Lordship is still *alive*, and in opposition; so is much the greater part of the friends that went into Administration with him: but when we speak of a *barter*, we mean to say, that for what the noble Lord received in the closet, he *virtually* surrendered that *influence* the people of this country have had ever since the Revolution, in choosing *some* of those *servants* of the *crown* and the *public*, which were wont to be *called* into office, and *supported* there, as much by the *confidence* of one, as the *favour* of the other: in fact, our Government was *once* a popular Government; we are now sorry to say that it has every *appearance* of a mere system of favouritism, originating in the views, passions, caprices, resentments, and affections of *one* man.

To return from this digression to what gave rise to it: the Duke of Richmond having not been in office since the year 1766, we are obliged to seek and take up his political character in the month of July, 1765, on the ministerial arrangement which took place under Lord Rockingham and the Old Whigs, sup-
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ported and patronized by the late Duke of Cumberland.

His Grace was appointed Ambassador to the Court of France, and acquitted himself extremely well; particularly relative to the demolition of the bastion at Dunkirk, which, however agreeable to the then Administration, and people at large, was far from being pleasing to some who were in the secret elsewhere. Private intimations, *not* official ones, were given to the French Minister at this Court to that effect. Nothing material towards the punctual performance of the article in the treaty of peace has been since done, but furnishing Administration with a pretext for providing for a *deserving* Scotchman * at the trifling expence of thirty shillings a day—*not* to see the treaty fulfilled, or the jetties and sluices demolished, but wisely to prevent the French King from raising or constructing new ones. This was rather a tender point; his Grace was therefore recalled; and in May, 1766, was appointed Secretary of State for the Southern department, in which post he remain-

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* Mr. Fraser.

ed till succeeded by Lord Shelburne, who went in on the 2d of August the same year with the Earl of Chatham.

From that remarkable period, his Grace has continued uniformly in opposition; and that on the *broadeſt* foundation. He does not confine his diſapprobation to men *only*; nor yet to particular meaſures: but he grounds it on the cauſe, the motive, and the views which have brought in *ſuch* men, which have produced *ſuch* meaſures; a *ſecret* over-ruling, hidden influence, directed to the introduction of a nefarious *Court ſyſtem*; a ſyſtem of ſimple favouritiſm, by which every thing in Cabinet, Parliament, and elſewhere, is to be conducted and *tried* by the *teſt* of *private* judgment, in contra-diſtinction to and in defiance of *public* opinion.

To purſue his Grace through the wide circle of parliamentary oppoſition is not our intention; the main object of theſe inquiries being chiefly to connect the conduct of public men with the affairs of America, we ſhall conſider

his Grace's, for the greater part, in *that* point of view.

Lord Hillsborough, in the year 1768, wrote *two* official letters, which perhaps in a great measure, howsoever *well intended*, have sown the *seeds* of the present unhappy civil war. One of them contained instructions to Governor Bernard to dissolve the Assembly of Massachusetts Bay; the other directing the several American Governors to assure the respective Assemblies in the provinces where they presided, that *no* further taxes were meant to be laid on America; and that such as were already laid on would be repealed on commercial principles: these letters being further accompanied by private *confidential* assurances from Administration, in some instances; and in others, as personally coming from the King; one of them indeed so *strong*, that his Majesty was *made* to say, "That he would rather *lose* his " Crown, than *preserve* it by *deceit*." * Thus the Americans were taught by one letter to perceive,

* Lord Botetourt's speech to the Assembly of Virginia, in explanation of the circulatory letter here adverted to.

perceive, that the future freedom of the deliberation of the Assembly of Massachusetts-Bay, and consequently of every other Assembly on the continent, *depended* on their resolution to resist a menace, which presented the alternative of either *submitting* to the mandate of a British Secretary of State, or to a temporary suspension, tending to terminate in a *total* dissolution of civil government. By means *such* as these, the Colonies were taught by Administration to hold the British Parliament in contempt, when they found the King in one instance, and his Ministers in the other, *pledging* themselves for the eventual resolutions of that degenerate and prostitute assembly. Such endeavours suggested besides, to those who saw farther, that when it should be found necessary to employ Parliament for the purpose, those promises on the part of the Crown might be disclaimed, or controuled by the Legislature, and the ministerial authority on which the circular letter was written might be disavowed by succeeding Ministers, as a rash ill-judged promise, which neither their successors in office, nor Parliament, were by any means bound to perform or fulfil.

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What foundation there might have been for the preceding observations, we do not pretend to determine; we only meant to state them shortly, as being the substance of the eighteen *celebrated* resolutions moved for by his Grace in the House of Lords, on the 18th of May, 1770, which produced one of the most extraordinary debates that we ever remember to have been present at. The whole of the misconduct of Ministers in relation to America, for the four preceding years, was laid open in the most pointedly severe terms; the then state of that country was most strikingly depicted; and the *disseveration* of it (to use one of Mr. Solicitor's technical expressions) was predicted in terms the most confident and unconditional; yet Administration remained in a kind of political apathy. Lord Hillsborough rather palliated the measures on the *stale* doctrine of state *necessity*, than offered to defend either himself or his colleagues; and very *modestly*, though he owned himself the culprit [his own words] moved for an *adjournment*.

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DUKE OF RICHMOND. 175

We find his Grace, as often as an opportunity offered, continually recurring to the same ground, and as continually overpowered by numbers. His repeated contests with Administration the whole of the spring session seventy-five, will bear testimony what his opinions have uniformly been on the present disputes subsisting between this country and America. His Grace distinguished himself particularly in opposing the Prohibitory Fishery bill, and in supporting the petition from his Majesty's natural-born subjects residing in Canada, praying that the law passed the preceding session, for regulating the government of Quebec, might be repealed. Time only can discover whether his Grace has not been as *able* a politician, as he has uniformly proved himself to be a sound, at least a sincere and steady, patriot.

On the opening of the last session, Administration began to *feel* him a most *weighty*, as well as *warm* antagonist. Besides his general grounds of opposition, he opened several new ones. He proved that the nation had been led *imperceptibly* into the present unnatural civil

civil war; that Ministers answered for matters of which they were entirely ignorant, and deceived Parliament with a previous intention of doing so. He pointed particularly at the First * Lord of the Admiralty, who in the preceding session assured the House, that 22,000 seamen and marines would answer all the purposes of home protection and American hostility, and who, the first day of next session, had the temerity to tell Parliament, that he knew the force was *not* sufficient, but he *concealed* his knowledge of it for *fear* the measure at large would not meet with their concurrence and support.

His Grace took a very warm and active part in the motions of the Duke of Manchester, on the introduction of the Hanover troops into Gibraltar and Minorca; and the Duke of Grafton's, relative to the number of British troops serving in America, and those in the Provincial service.—He moved for the examination of Mr. Penn, relative to the petition of
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* See the passage and protest in Almon's Parliamentary Register, No. XV.

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the Congress, and to the general state and *disposition* of the people of America; by which he proved this very important point, that whatever the intentions might be of a *few* ambitious fiery spirits in all parts of America, or of the *Northern Colonies*, that a very great majority of all degrees of people totally disapproved of any attempt to render themselves independent of the parent state. — Happy would it be for both countries, had this important truth been more seriously attended to.

The motion for suspending the military operations against America, and countermanding the march of the foreign troops, on the 5th of March, 1776, was brought forward by his Grace in one of the ablest speeches we have yet heard on either side of the subject. It took in the whole of the American question, both in point of justice, expediency, and practicability. He shewed, that the claim pushed to the *length* of unconditional submission, which was the language again resumed and publicly avowed, and to support which a noble

Lord * was appointed Secretary of State for the Colonies, was unjust, despotic, and oppressive, and led directly both in *form* and *essence* to arbitrary power: for where *no* line was offered to be drawn, either in respect of taxation or chartered rights, but the option lay with *one* party to act according to their own *discretion*, and *no* right of restraint, refusal, or controul, lay in the other, *that*, in his opinion, was the true and only substantial definition of arbitrary power; and was precisely what was sought and exercised by every successful or unsuccessful tyrant, or combination of tyrants, that ever lived. — On the ground of expediency, his Grace was, if possible, more convincing: he pointed to the present state of France, her governing politics for more than a century, the mixture of jealousy, envy, rancour, and revenge, she entertained for this country, as well on ruling steady principles of national pride and national emulation, as of retaliation, and a spirit of re-conquest, on account of her disgraces during the late war, and the acquisitions ceded to us at the late peace. His Grace strongly held up in *contrast* the present state of

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* Lord George Germain.

our only sure bulwark against the secret or avowed attempts of France, our navy, which he contended did not consist of more than the guardships, and they not above half manned; to which he added this very alarming circumstance, that the whole military force then within the kingdom did not amount to quite 8000 men. The last point, the impracticability of succeeding in our proposed attempt of reducing, and establishing a government founded in conquest, he treated with all possible ridicule. He contended, that the whole treasures of Great Britain would fall infinitely short of the undertaking; that if it were practicable, the country would be untenable; that if it were tenable, the expence would be enormous, and the burdens such a military establishment would necessarily introduce, be intolerable; and if *none* of those obstacles stood in the way, the conquest and dominion would not be *worth* seeking, as it would only put us in possession of a *depopulated waste*, perhaps, here and there along the sea-coast, occupied by a few mercenary, *subjugated, spiritless slaves*.

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We must apologize to our readers for introducing the Duke of Richmond so early into our catalogue as a parliamentary speaker, and have only to plead, that we were induced to it by the same motive which prevailed on us to present our readers with the character of the last noble Lord, * merely on account of his *political value*. His Grace abounds with information, well selected. He arranges his matter judiciously, and seldom brings any thing forward that does not immediately concern the subject of debate, and is likewise important in itself. He is able in reply, and never fails to point out and detect, wherever his adversaries endeavour to palliate, falsify, or misrepresent. This, joined to his great sources of information, his personal boldness, his warmth of expression, his energy on some occasions, and his coolness and recollection on others, unite to render him a most useful speaker and formidable antagonist. On the other hand, his tedious, unmarked manner of speaking, his slow costive delivery, his frequent pauses and want of recollection, leave him far behind several, as a public speaker, who are destined

* Lord Sandwich.

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destined to follow him on the same side. In fine, it is his *matter*, and his *sincerity*, not his oratory, that renders him at present so valuable to the English nation, so prized by his party, so *detested* by the Junto, so *fearcd* by the offensive Ministers, and so *obnoxious* to a *certain Great Man*.

The Duke of Richmond, as one of the leaders of a powerful party, as a public man and Peer of Parliament, is *one* out of the *very few* who has preserved an uniformity of conduct; has been steady in his principles, open and undisguised in his sentiments, inflexible in his opinions, unremitting in his opposition to what he thought was *wrong*; staunch, sincere, and unmoved, by any *extrinsic* consideration, in support of whatever he imagined was *right*. His opposition has been uniform; never languid: it is not mixed with indolence, inattention, and a certain *tone* of pliability, a certain *air* of political *charity*, a certain *trimming*, lukewarm disposition. No, the Duke of Richmond has not attended his duty, in Parliament

liament *merely* to give a *silent* vote. He has not *absented* himself on purpose to *create* an apology for his *non*-attendance. He has not delivered his sentiments by *halves*, in order to let one part of the measure pass *unnoticed*, and the other *unreproved*, in the terms it deserved. He has not spared Ministers when they deserved it, out of a mixture of Court and Parliamentary *complaisance*. Though bred and educated a *modern* Whig, he has not learned the whole of their creed by heart; nor brought himself up to the docility of practising a fifth of it. He does not *measure* his present conduct in order to *defend* himself when in office by *precedent*; and more than all, he is above loading the *tools* in power, the *phantoms* in office, with matters that, he is *convinced* in his heart, are only chargeable to the obstinacy and ambition of the first M——e.

This may be a description of a man in the clouds; but, be that as it may, his Grace's Parliamentary conduct has encouraged us to
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give it as a *real* one ; and that without wishing to pass the least degree of censure, oblique or direct, upon any man alive, who is *not* conscious of deserving it.

L O R D N O R T H.

TH E political character of this Nobleman, if given in detail, would furnish materials for a large volume. It would contain a history of the present civil war raging in America, and the several efficient measures which preceded and produced it. It would exhibit the *true* grounds of the struggle between a system designed to *unite* the legislative and executive powers of the state in *one* hand, and *that* species of civil government established at the Revolution, which supposes that Government was established for the *good* of the community, taking in every description of men, from the first magistrate to the peasant; that those who live under it have an *interest* in its wise, equitable, and prudent administration; and that, having an interest in it, they have also a *right* commensurate to that interest, to watch, and, if necessary, to *controul* those who are *entrusted* with the direction of public affairs. —It would convey to the nation a just description

scription of the several factions and *knots* of men, who have, to the disgrace of their repeated professions, to *almost* the annihilation of all public *confidence*, to a *disbelief* of all declarations and pretensions to true patriotism, delivered the strong-hold of Government into the hands of those who have uniformly availed themselves of their strength and *situation*, in alternately awing, soothing, and, when circumstances made it necessary or opportunity served, in compelling the nation into a tame acquiescence under the *first stages* of arbitrary power. Were his Lordship's political likeness to be accurately or fully delineated, the transactions now alluded to, as well as many others growing out of them, or connected with them, would be necessary to give the world a finished picture: but as we have neither time, ability, nor inclination to undertake so ungrateful and melancholy a task; and, if we had, as we think with two celebrated noble * orators, that *this* is not the season for detailed political disquisition; that *little* remains to be said, and *much* to be done; we shall confine

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* See Lords Temple and Mansfield's Speeches in Almon's Parliamentary Register, No. XXIV. and XXV.

our humble attempt to a loose sketch of our hero's character. We trust, however imperfect it may appear, that it will convey a *faithful* likeness, though a rough, unfinished one. Sure we are that our *intentions* are *pure* ; and that, if we fail in the execution, we shall have nothing to charge ourselves with on the ground of *intentional* partiality.

The first time our professed plan will permit us to take notice of his Lordship, was on the day that the once-justly-revered Pitt was created Earl of Chatham, and Lord Privy Seal — on the 2d of August, 1766. On the same day, according to the language of the red book of the Exchequer, Lord North was put to-bed to the old woman * at the Pay-office, without any previous courtship, or indeed † knowledge of that venerable old lady. His Lordship having sat several years at the Treasury Board, where he was known to be industrious, laborious,

* The well-known Mr. Cooke, Member for Middlesex, with whom he was appointed Joint Paymaster-General.

† Mr. Burke says, in his celebrated speech, that his Lordship had never seen his bed-fellow's face until the bridal night.

laborious, and plodding; and where he studied Cocker and Wingate's valuable treatises on arithmetic, and the *surprising* combinations between pounds, shillings, and pence, under that occult and profound Financier, the late Mr. George Grenville, the shining, flourishing, political * Proteus, whose commission bore equal date, and who was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer, gave *sterility* † to *barrenness*, by calling our hero to his confidence, and putting himself under his Lordship's pupilage. *Fame* saith, that here our hero rendered the Junto most essential service, and paved the way to that elevated situation he now stands in.

Versatile Charles had talents for *flourishing* away a speech, and for flattering and misleading the House of Commons. He could write a pamphlet, or betray a connexion, and laugh at it. He could even mitigate the resentments of those he had the most highly offended; and by a certain mixture of animal vivacity, highly seasoned

* The late Charles Townshend.

† A House of Commons *bull* fathered on the last-mentioned honourable gentleman.

seasoned with wit and good humour, he possessed the knack of disarming the very persons he had thus grossly betrayed. But in every other particular his talents were limited. He hated application, and despised the means of attaining useful knowledge. With such complexional abilities, accompanied with a variety of other circumstances, it is not at all to be wondered that he *leaned* on Lord North for assistance. He could entertain *no* jealousy of such a man, because fire and water were not, he knew, more contradictory in their nature. He looked upon his Lordship as an useful *drudge*, fit to be employed to some purposes; and this intercourse being known at Carleton-house, Charles's vanity was flattered; he liked to *take the lead*; he was detached from the ostensible Minister, * and from his First Commissioner † of the Treasury, with whom he was, by his post, more nearly connected. He differed from them in Cabinet; and the House of Commons, by *proper management*, being *pre-disposed*, Charles in the Committee of Supply proposed that certain duties should be laid on

tea,

* Lord Chatham.

† Duke of Grafton.

tea, paper, painters colours, and glafs, imported into America. When his colleagues remonstrated againſt the meaſure, he held out the Houſe of Commons *in terrorem* againſt them ; all reſiſtance he declared was vain ; for the Houſe, he aſſured his principal, * were united as one man ; and were determined to *compel* America to contribute towards the ſupport of their military eſta bliſhment, as well as towards relieving the people of this country from part of the heavy burdens incurred in the protection and aſſiſtance of its Colonies during the late war.

Whether Lord North acted as a *confidential* adviſer in this buſineſs, or whether he was the confidential *medium*, through which the *Junto* and Charles communicated with each other, in the *beginning*, there is little reaſon to doubt that his Lordſhip was *oſtender* at the Treafury than the Pay-office ; and infinitely *more* intimate with Charles Townſhend than with his old ſpouſe † at the Horſe-guards.

Charles

* Duke of Grafton.

† Mr. Cooke.

Charles lived out his year; pity it is that he had not died a year *earlier*, or had not been still living, to answer for the event of his wild and improvident schemes. What he had often in a ludicrous manner * foretold, came, however, to be exactly fulfilled; for before he was quite cold Lord North was appointed to succeed him in the Chancellorship of the Exchequer. As we do not mean to write an history, nor a life, we shall hasten to such parts of his Lordship's political and official conduct as more particularly drew the public attention, or are most intimately connected with the causes of the present unnatural civil war, which *threatens* the destruction of this powerful and extensive empire.

His Lordship, in the early *persecution* of Mr. Wilkes, having exerted himself so strenuously as to lay, in a great measure, the foundation of his future fortunes, it was expected, of course, that

* "See, said Charles, that great, heavy, booby-looking, bursten-bellied, seeming changeling. You may believe me, when I assure you it is a *fact*, that if any thing should happen to me, he will succeed to my place, and very shortly after come to be First Commissioner of the Treasury."

that as Minister of the House of Commons he would confirm the happy *presages* formed of his *talents* and *disposition* in this line, by those who were the means of pushing him into so respectable a situation. His Lordship did not disappoint them; he surpassed even their highest and most sanguine expectations. The Cabinet * was his own, in spite of his principal; † and Wilkes was not only expelled, but incapacitated.

The time now approached, when an opportunity was given to his Lordship to smooth the way to the post of First Minister. Charles Townshend's Port duties were not so favourably received in America, as either their framer, or those who *employed* him, expected. If his Lordship had any part, at first or *second* hand, in urging or pressing Charles to that dangerous, and, we fear, ruinous measure, he acted under cover; but now, as Minister of the House of Commons, he could no longer dissemble

* The ostensible Cabinet was then composed of Lords Camden, Hillsborough, Gower, Weymouth, Clare, Rochford, North, and the Duke of Grafton—a majority of *five* to two.

† Duke of Grafton.

dissemble or conceal his sentiments. The non-importation agreement entered into by the several Colonies, and a dispute with the province of Massachusetts Bay relative to the quartering of the army, having greatly embarrassed Administration, two letters were written, which have been already sufficiently commented on. One of them was the circular letter, promising, that no more duties should be imposed on America, and that those laid on already should be repealed on commercial principles. This letter was certainly written with his Lordship's *approbation* and *consent*, he being *then* of the *Cabinet*, and *Minister* of the *House of Commons*. How then has he performed his promise, or fulfilled the engagement contained in that letter? By *refusing* to take off the duty on *tea*, when he moved for the repeal of the duties on paper, painters colours, and glass; and giving the most full and confidential *assurances* to the country gentlemen in the beginning of the three last sessions, in the Committee of Ways and Means, that taxes were *expected* from America; that they were the *leading* object of the present hostile

hostile measures ; that we were not seeking a *pepper-corn*, but were contending for a *substantial* support from America, towards lightening the intolerable burdens we now groan under, from the heavy debt incurred in defending, protecting, and securing that country.

The last part of Lord Chatham's political farce was now to be played. The Cabinet on his Lordship's closet arrangement consisted of himself, the Duke of Grafton, the Lords Shelburne, Camden, and Charles Townshend, Sir Charles Saunders, and General Conway. Now let us see how the mock-cabinet stood *when* the repeal of *all* the American duties was moved there in 1769.—Duke of Grafton, and Lords Camden, *North, Weymouth, Rochford, Hillsborough, and Bristol*. Here we may well repeat the words of a certain noble Lord, * that scarce a second plank of the vessel originally launched was remaining when the noble Duke was *out-voted* in Cabinet, on a proposal of a total repeal of the American Port duties ; which *fatal vote* is the *true* and *sole* cause of the present civil war.

K

The

* Lord Chatham.

The First Lord of the Treasury at length took it in his head to do what both prudence and spirit had, in our opinion, long before dictated. Finding in the winter 1769, that he was *out-voted* in Cabinet, on a proposition of a *total* repeal of the American Port duties, and that it was ultimately determined to keep the duty on tea standing, and that the measure in this form was to be submitted to Parliament, his Grace resigned, and made way for our hero. Accordingly, on the 5th of March, 1770, about six weeks after the noble Duke's resignation, and his succeeding to that important post, just vacated, his Lordship moved for leave to bring in a bill to repeal so much of an act passed in the seventh of his present Majesty, for levying duties on certain goods imported into America, as related to the duties imposed by said act on the importation of paper, painters colours, and glass. In his introductory speech on this occasion, he *censured*, in very severe terms, the conduct of the Administration who devised the tax, observing, it was to the last degree *absurd* to tax the manufactures of Great Britain. As to the tea, *that* being an article of commerce, and as the consumers

consumers in the Colonies would continue to have it nine-pence a pound cheaper than before the passing of the law, he thought it very proper to have it *continued*. His Lordship was *pressed* by many of his friends, as well as his opposers, to consent to a total repeal: but he remained inflexible and unmoved; and after a very warm debate, he carried his motion for a partial repeal, by a majority of 204 against 142. This we look upon to be one of the *blackest* days Britain ever saw; a day which probably will be as memorable in the British annals, as ever the Ides of March were in those of antient Rome. The motion on which the question was put, was made by Governor Pownall, by way of amendment, in the following words, “and on teas.”

His Lordship, however, had another opportunity to recover his senses, or to endeavour to restore his *employers* to theirs; for Mr. Alderman Trecothick, on the 9th of April following, moved for leave to bring in a bill to repeal the American tea duty; but the noble Lord seeming averse to it, one of the

worthy corps of * King's friends moved the order of the day, which was carried by a majority of 80 to 52.

His Lordship chose to defeat this last effort of the friends of their country, to prevent the evils with which we are at present encompassed, by a kind of play at parliamentary *cross purposes*, and ended the whole with a joke. He insisted, in the first instance, that Mr. Pownal's amendment ought to have the weight of a formal motion; and consequently that Mr. Trecothick's motion was premature, because it was against a known rule of the House, that any question which had received a negative should be brought in the same session. The joke was entirely in the style of his Lordship's other *drolleries*. Mr. Beckford (then Lord-Mayor) perceiving that the Ministry were determined not to consent to the motion, and only objected to the point of order to *conceal* their real intentions, *hoped* the noble Lord would consent to a prorogation of the Parliament till after the holidays. "Oh, (replied his Lordship in his truly Attic manner) I am glad

* Lord Clare, now Earl Nugent.

glad to find that a *prorogation* will content the honourable gentleman ;” alluding to the city petition, lately presented, praying a *dissolution* of Parliament.

The session of 1771 was a very warm one ; the dispute with Spain relative to Falkland’s Islands, and the attack on the Judges and the administration of justice in the Courts of Law, the contest with the Printers and the City Magistrates, rendered it still more so ; but he surmounted all difficulties much better than was at first expected by his most sanguine friends.

The session of 1772 was distinguished by his carrying a most difficult point in the House of Commons, the Royal Marriage bill. This recommended him strongly to the Junto and his Royal Master, and procured him the ribbon.

The session of 1773 was marked by his conducting the East-India inquiry, and the bill for new-modelling the affairs of the East-India Company in Asia and Europe. He was
strongly

strongly opposed in the Cabinet on this measure; but by his perseverance and address he surmounted all the impediments thrown in his way. He had other persons blunders to answer for as well as his own, during this session. Lord Hillsborough having been imposed on by some mercenary planters in St. Vincent's, disposed of the Caribb Islands to the interested informants, which caused an insurrection.

We come now to the fatal period, in which the foundation of the ruin which at present threatens this seemingly devoted empire with destruction was laid; we mean the spring session 1774. The affairs of America had now continued for almost seven years in the greatest confusion. Our threats were set at defiance, our mere acts of governmental power were disregarded, our soothing were despised, our promises were disbelieved: in fine, after making the King descend from his dignity; after Ministers had pledged themselves for the performance of what, according to the sound principles of the constitution, they would deserve to have suffered on a block for; after troops had been sent to bully the most re-

fractory

fractory colonies into submission, and had been as precipitately withdrawn out of a regard to their personal safety; after their Assemblies had been dissolved, to compel them to acquiesce in measures they were averse to, and again convened and permitted to sit, without any satisfaction given or promised; after an absolute act of parliament had been explained by an arbitrary vote of both Houses, as purporting * to contain a description of persons not then in being, and creating offences of high treason, by a constrained and unnatural interpretation of the law; in fine, after America had been in a manner cut off, and its affections estranged from this country for full seven years, and all regular government partly at an end, nothing was yet done. Administration seemed supine and negligent, in proportion to the magnitude and number of difficulties they had to encounter with. The riots, however, at Boston the preceding autumn, and the burning of the tea, at length roused a country gentleman, † who gave notice, that he would, on a certain day,

* 25th of Henry VIII. for trial of offences committed beyond sea.

† Colonel Jennings.

day, move the House to resolve itself into a Committee to take the affairs of America into consideration. Before that day arrived, his Lordship saw the necessity of taking the inquiry out of the hands of Opposition, who were then in possession of it ; and who might possibly move some resolution it would be extremely embarrassing to get rid of: he therefore informed the House, that he would, on such a day, move the House for a Committee for the same purpose.

On the day appointed his Lordship moved several resolutions, on the first of which the Boston Port bill was framed. His Lordship supported that measure on positive assurances, that the East-India Company would be indemnified for their tea that was destroyed ; and that the whole affair would consequently drop. The next bill he brought in, was that for altering the Charter of the province of Massachusetts's Bay ; he recommended this in the same manner. He assured the House, that the present bill was at the special request of the principal inhabitants, traders, and land-owners.

Both

Both these assurances proved *ill-founded* ; his Lordship was deceived, or *purposely* deceived Parliament. The first measure was very ill received in America, but the second threw the people into a ferment little short of rebellion.

The session of 1775, or the first of the present Parliament, was opened in a most extraordinary manner: the naval peace establishment was *reduced* 4000 men ; and though we were informed, that General Gage was fortifying Boston-Neck, in order to protect himself against hostilities, every thing appeared as *tranquil* in Parliament as if nothing had happened in America. His Lordship was a second time awaked from his deceitful slumbers ; he accordingly produced some garbled extracts of mutilated letters, full of false or exaggerated facts, vague surmises, idle reports, and silly predictions, from the several tools and instruments of power on the spot. His Lordship was, strange as it may appear, able to procure a majority of three to one ; the navy was augmented 6000 men, and the army 4000 ; a string of penal bills were enacted, full of the

most foolish, as well as the most barbarous policy; and his Lordship closed his parliamentary campaign with assuring his friends and opponents repeatedly, that he would have an army of 10 or 12,000 men at Boston; that our friends in America were much more numerous than our enemies; but if we *should* be obliged to proceed to extremities, our force at Boston would be strong enough to *compel* obedience *without* striking a blow. His Lordship was again grossly mistaken: for obedience was not compelled by fright, terror, or blows; we got as bad as we gave; and we threw away three millions of money at least, and several valuable lives, without *bringing America * to our feet*.

Well, the session of 1776 arrived. His Lordship *confessed* he was *deceived*, both in the strength of his adversaries, and the *real* disposition of his friends. He now *disclaimed* all thoughts of conquest and taxation. America must acknowledge the supremacy and commercial controul of this country; that was

* A favourite phrase of his Lordship's during the latter part of the session 1774.

was all he desired. This, however, not being highly relished by the friends of taxation, his Lordship soon changed his mind; and by the time that he had led Parliament *too far to recede*, he declared for taxation, and unconditional submission, in imitation of his noble and spirited coadjutor; and taking breath, during the Christmas holidays, led Parliament a *little* farther, by taking 20,000 foreigners into British pay. With this formidable army of 70,000 land forces, and 80 ships and frigates of war, at an expence of 15 millions, including the home establishment, his Lordship has, for the *third* time, *pledged* himself to Parliament and the public, that America would be *finally reduced* at the close of the *present* campaign.—Whether that will be so or not, is not yet known; if this last prediction turns out true, we will readily allow him to be the greatest Minister this country ever saw; should it turn out the contrary, then will we not hesitate to pronounce him, the *veriest* and most *confident bungler* that was ever employed by Providence as an instrument to *scourge* a credulous, degenerate, weak, and wicked nation.

It

It is difficult to speak of his Lordship's political abilities with any degree of confidence or precision. If he be the *mere puppet* of the interior cabinet, the mere child of favouritism, it is impossible to try him fairly as a Minister, acting on *his own* judgment; we must in that case consider him merely as possessed of good talents, but basely sacrificing them to the meanest and most sordid motives. Perhaps it may be said, his principles lead him that way; and his inclination and interest unite in urging him to promote the views and wishes of the *Prince*, in preference to those of the *people*. Be it so: the question in that light is at an end. He cannot be a proper Minister in a mixed or popular government; who would endeavour to give the first magistrate more power than is allowed by the constitution; or *unite* the executive and legislative powers of the state in the same person. On the other hand, supposing Lord North to be really *the* Minister, as much as Walpole, Pelham, or Pitt were severally when they bore the character (which we will as soon believe, till we receive some substantial proof of it, as that he is Mufti

or

or Turkish High Priest). we can by no means allow him fitted either by nature, habit, or inclination, for so great and arduous an undertaking. It would be an invidious task to assign our reasons, nor would it be less tedious and disgusting. His Lordship is, however, a man of sound judgment, well trained in business, of great parliamentary dexterity, and equalled by no man in Britain in plausibility, in a strong appearance of candour, in avoiding explanations in debate, and knowing how to *recede* from engagements *without* incurring a *breach* of promise. His enemies allow him no merit. This is merely the voice of party. His Lordship was called to the helm at a most *critical* season, in a storm of faction or national resentment, call it which you please. He rode it out with great resolution, and no small degree of ministerial skill ; and whether his conduct on that occasion may be imputed unto him as righteousness, there is little doubt that he encountered *some perils*, and many disagreeable circumstances ; and, like an able pilot, brought the political bark safe into port.

Lord

Lord North is certainly a very able speaker. His *judgment* in conducting a debate is *admirable*. He is possessed of a vast fund of information; relative to almost every subject that comes under discussion. He has a prodigious sound, accurate memory; arranges his matter judiciously; and never fails to push the *strongest part* of his argument into the *most conspicuous* point of view. If he seldom produces any thing new himself, he has a peculiar knack at transferring other people's sentiments, both in print and debate, into his speeches, and that with so much art as not to be easily observed; and never fails to press his antagonists, where they are *weakest*, and *least* capable of resistance. But if he has many equals, and some superiors, in this line, there is *one*, in which he peculiarly and clearly *excels all* his contemporaries in both Houses; that is, in *reply*. He receives the attacks of his opponents frequently like an electric shock; and after haranguing for an hour rather dully, he rises a second time, and levels his adversary in a few words, either in a flow of keen satire, or the most sound and pointed argument. — His Lordship's voice is extremely disagreeable, his elocution still worse,
and

and his manner execrably awkward. He is frequently tedious and unintelligible, abounds in useless repetitions, and scarcely ever places his emphasis with propriety, much less with grace.—In short, we would advise his Lordship, at this time of day, to abstain from an awkward imitation of others, to avoid all trite phrases, constrained attitudes, and worn-out expletives; for it is possible they might pass very well with Burke, Germain, Fox, Barré, or Ellis, and nevertheless appear amazingly nauseous and disgusting at *second hand*.

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